No. 31,150

PARIS, SATURDAY-SUNDAY, APRIL 16-17, 1983

Finland ... 50 F.M. Steenman 3 — Smortainat 200 S.F. France ... 500 F. Maciera ... 50 Ex. Turnus ... 1500 Ele Germany 2:20 D.M. Maltis ... 35 Certs, Turnus ... 1500 Ele Great Britain ... 60 Pt. Moreata 550 Cert (L.S. ... 650 Certs) Cerege ... 60 Dr. Neiherlands ... 550 Ft. U.S. M. Ele ... 1636 han 175 Bals Pigans ... 170 K. Yugoslevia ... 62 2.

ESTABLISHED 1887

U.S. Officials Say Salvadoran Rightists Drew Lots to Plan Archbishop's Killing

LOS ANGELES — The U.S. State Department received "highly reliable" information more than two years ago that Roberto d'Aubuisson, the Salvadoran rightist leader, and about a dozen active-duty security force officers drew lots for the right to plan the assassination of the late Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero in March 1980, according to well-placed U.S.

The officials, who were interviewed on the condition that they not be identified, said that the information indicated that Mr. d'Aubuisson had presided over the meeting and that the offi-cers present considered the killing an honor— "a privilege"—because they believed that Archbishop Romero was a threat to El Salvador's national security.

U.S. officials said that information about the ansolved assessination on March 24, 1980, was contained in two secret State Department the honor and privilege of killing Romero."

sented convincing evidence to back up long-standing allegations of Mr. d'Anbrisson's inwolvement in the assassination. Two sources described the information as "highly reliable."

The sources, three well-placed U.S. officials who said that they have seen the cabled information as the cabled information in the cable of the ca

nation, said that the second dispatch contained the name of a man believed to have been the killer. He is a Walter Antonio Alvarez, a former National Guardsman who has since been killed. Mr. d'Aubuisson, a former major in the Sal-vadoran Army, is now president of El Salva-dor's Constituent Assembly. He has repeatedly denied any involvement in the slaying.

Describing the information in the first cable, one of the officials said "it was seen as a great thing to kill Romero. Like, the only fair way of doing it was by lots; the excitement, you know,

dor in late 1980 and 1981.

They refused to identify the source of the information. But each said that the cables prethe most politically significant of the 40,000

However, the State Department said last Department or the Central Intelligence Agency.

The cables have caused a lot of Weighington he three-and-a-half-year civil war.

> Robert E. White, former U.S. ambassador to Salvador, confirmed this week that a cable had been sent to Washington late in 1980 which, he said, reported that Mr. d'Aubuisson had "pulled together a group of people" to con-spire to murder the archbishop.

> Mr. White said that the cable was sent shortly before he was withdrawn from his post by President Ronald Reagan in early 1981. He said that he was maware what, if any, additional information on the alleged meeting was reported lat-

> first thing that confirmed what we already knew

The archbishop, an outspoken critic of gov-but couldn't prove." In the last several years, But, the sources who disclosed the existence gence. It made no direct mention of the two erument repression, was shot as he said Mass in Mr. White has often referred to Mr. d'Aubuis- of the cables said that they knew of no follow-cables the sources described.

ing by Mr. d'Aubuisson have not been substantiated and that little "hard evidence" exists. The comments came in response to the Reagan ad- lemma they pose for the United States. ministration's decision to grant him a visa to visit the United States.

The Carter administration, in which Mr. White served as ambassador, would not allow gate information on violence by Salvadoran Mr. d'Aubuisson into the United States. When rightists—has not done so. he slipped in almost three years ago, he was expelled.

When asked about the cables Thursday, a State Department spokeswoman responded, "It is not our practice to discuss alleged classified material." The cabled information was de-"It was the beginning, it seemed to me, of the scribed by one source as "golden nuggers" that, building of the case or cases on violence regarding d'Aubuisson," he said. "It was really the op's murder and also shed light on El Salvador's notorious rightist death squads.

up investigation in the case by either the State

hands and gnashing of teeth" in Washington, he said, because of the obvious foreign policy di-

According to a highly critical congressional report issued last September, the CIA — which has the resources and the mandate to investirightists — has not done so.

The report contended that U.S. intelligent

agencies had displayed a "lack of sustained attention" to the assassination. Moreover, it said. the agencies had "virtually ignored" a series of documents that Mr. White and others say prove Mr. d'Aubnisson's involvement in the slaying. Heavily edited by the agencies it criticized, the report was published by the staff of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Evaluation of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelli-

Sources said the first cable named as participants in the drawing of lots several National Guard and army officers who have long been associated with human rights abuses. But other than Mr. d'Aubuisson's, their names could not

The second cable, which identified the suspected gunman as Mr. Alvarez, was received by the State Department about a year after the

Mr. Alvarez's name and telephone numbers appear in papers confiscated three years ago by reformist military officers who arrested Mr. d'Aubuisson and two dozen of his associates for plotting a coup. They were later released with-

The papers include logs of arms purchases, payments to military officers and small combat operations that outline what appear to be hit

U.S. Survey Finds Public Opposed to Reagan's Hard Line

New York Times Service. NEW YORK - The American people tend to accept President Ronald Reagan's description of the Soviet threat but reject his strategy

for meeting it, according to the lat-est New York Times-CBS News By about 5 to 3, those interviewed saw the Soviet Union as a growing threat as well as an immediate danger, but by an even bigger margin of 5 to 2 the respondents felt that the U.S. arms buildup would result only in a further increase of Soviet arms and not in

serious negotiations. The public's approach to preventing nuclear war and reducing nuclear arms, according to the poll. was to seek a mutual freeze on nuclear weapons rather than an American military buildup. This idea was supported by a margin of

64 percent to 25 percent The poll of 1,489 adults, from-April 7 to April 11, was taken as percent. This decline in support by Mr. Respan made a series of people who identified themselves speeches portunating the Separation as the "focus of evil" with satisfies the focus of evil with satisfies we was also a large microase support for a record-breaking Pen.

There was also a large microase and he proportion in the percentage of those who said

est rating ever on foreign policy. The shift since the last poll in January is modest, from 39 percent appropriate and 39 percent proving and 38 percent disapproverign policy issue as the country's ing to 34 percent approxing and 37 most supportent problem. Since last percent disapproxing, but it is fall, this number has doubled to

president. These could add weight Essentially, the Times-CBS to the warrings of Ismes A. Baker. News survey and other recent candid the White House chief of staff, washings of public opinion indicate and Michael F. Daniel of staff, and Michael K. Deaver, the deputy chief of staff, that foreign policy could become a political hability could become a political liability et menace, and yet find themselves and that Mr. Reagan should soften more wormed about Mr. Reagan

Robert M. Teeter, a public opin-ion expert with ties to Mr. Baker, read the picture this way. It indi-cates that the public is attempting to discriminate between an overall judgment and a foreign policy judgment. It also shows the presi-dent may have laid the groundwork to convince people later on that his approach is the right one."

The latter point, that Mr.

France to Lift

Currency Curb

At Year's End

United Press International

PARIS - Currency controls

imposed last month on French

lifted at the end of the year, the

Finance Ministry said Friday.

The controls, the most con-

troversial part of an austerity

program announced by the government March 25, limit the

mount of money a French res-

ident may carry out of France to 2,000 francs in foreign cur-rency and 1,000 france in

French currency - a total of

Finance Minister Jacques

Delors told Swiss officials dur-

ing a visit to Switzerland with President François Mitterrand

that the government would lift

the controls Dec. 31. This was

confirmed Friday by the Finance Ministry Switzerland

and Austria have protested the

controls as projectionist mea-sures that could seriously dam-

see their tourist industries by

Officials had indicated the

curbs would last just long

enough to revive the economy,

but until Friday no expiration

curtailing French travel

Reagan's hard-line track is the right one and that he can carry the public with him if he persists, has been advanced by William P. Clark, Mr. Reagan's national security adviser, and Edwin Meese 3d, the White House counselor.

The drop in overall foreign policy approval is strongest among those 45 years and older. In January, this group approved by a margin of 38 percent to 35 percent, now, they break at 27-percent approval and 42-percent disapproval. The decline in support is also big-ger among the lower-income and less-educated respondents. Women are more negative by a consider-able margin than men, as they were before. This time men were divided, with 41 percent approving, 36 percent disapproving and women split, with 28 percent approving and 37 percent disapproving.

Also of potential significan Republicans showed a sharp drop in approval from 59 percent to 46 recest. This decline in support by

support for a record-breaking Pen-tagon budget request and his strat-egy of arming to negotiate arms yes when asked. "Regardless of your overall opinion of him, are While other recent polls pointed you afraid Ronald Reagan might

about 13 percent. But this re-missioned far below the 67 percent According to a White House mained far below the 67 perceaulde, this result corresponded to private surveys conducted for the who listed matters like unemploythat people find Mr. Reagan convincing when he speaks of the Soviself at the same time. In other words, majorities of those polled seemed to see him as a good soutry and a questionable, even danger-

> Mr. Reagan has explained his basic strategy for dealing with the Soviet Union as follows: Moscow is militarily superior to the United States, so Washington must increase military spending sharply to (Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)



WELCOME IN WASHINGTON — Secretary of State George P. Shultz, left, greeted Chancellor Heinell Kohl of West Germany on Friday at the Washington Monument. President Ronald Rengan and Mr. Kohl discussed deployment of missiles in Western Europe on the chancellor's one-day visit to Washington. Page 2.

New Arms Control Director Seeks to Mr. Reagan holding his own or increasing his overall approval rating, the Times-CRS News findings showed the president with his low most of the increase, going from 39 to 400 president with his low and the president with his low most of the increase, going from 39 to 400 president with his low.

By Bernard D. Nossirer New York Times Service UNITED NATIONS, New York — With his three-month battle to win confirmation as U.S. arms control director at an end, Kenneth L.

Adelman, looking worn but relieved, says he is eager to make peace in Congress.

At a news conference Thursday at the U.S. Mission, where he has been deputy delegate, Mr. Adelman said he would set a date next

week to meet with every member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which voted in late February against recommending his consaid, President Ronald Reagan, nals on the issue, firmation. He said he wanted to Secretary of State George P. Shultz On nuclear ma seek their continued counsel."

He added that he also planned to meet every senator and condemonstrated that they all "value control package based on quantity,
gressman interested in arms conand treasure my counsel." That he enhanced stability, a real reduction
trol, because these issues "must be said, helped him through a hard of nuclear weapons" and agreehimartisan to be effective."

Mr. Adelman made an indirect

Agency. "I will certainly work very ing in a breezy, colloquial and enclosely with people in ACDA," he thusiastic manner. said. "I have found them to be The Senate committee worried

He said he saw his own role as a As for his background, he said, relatively modest one — a back. "I feel experienced enough to banroom adviser to administration de dle these issues." At the United

and William P. Clark, the presi-

Mr. Adelman made an indirect Mr. Adelman spoke into a forest reference to accusations during his of microphones with the caution of Europe the deployment of cruise confirmation hearings that he a man who had just had a narrow and Pershing-2 missiles he said. "I

highly qualified and top-notch pro-fessionals."

Interpolate Committee worted about his youth — he will be 37 in fessionals." June - and that provided his only He is expected to fill some va- stab at humor at his news confercancies, however, and he would not ence. "There are those who have say whether he might create a few said I'm a little young for the job," new ones. But, he said, "I hope the turmoil in personnel is behind us." don't feel very young anymore."

cision-makers, not a publicized. Nations he has been the mission's negotiator of arms agreements. specialist on arms control and has During his three-month wait, he written articles for academic jour-

On nuclear matters, Mr. Adelman echoed administration posident's national security adviser, tions. He said he sought "an armsments that are verifiable.

Asked if he would like to spare planned to conduct a purge of the escape. In his UN office, he was would feel personally safer if there Arms Control and Disarmament usually found in shirt-sleeves, talk- (Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

Reagan, Shultz Defend U.S. Policy on Nicaragua

Compiled by Our Staff From Dupatches WASHINGTON — The Reagan dministration has mounted a strong defense of its actions on Nicaragua, with President Ronald Reagan saying he was "complying fully" with a congressional prohibition on activities aimed at overthrowing the country's leftist government and Secretary of State George P. Shultz raising the danger that Nicaragua might be willing to accept deployment of Soviet mis-

At a brief press conference Thursday, Mr. Reagan acknowl-edged U.S. support of anni-Sandin-ist guerrillas in Nicaragua but said: Anything we're doing in that area is simply trying to interdict the supply lines which are supplying the [leftist] guerrillas in El Salva-

But, Mr. Reagan added, "The picture today is that Nicaragua with its protests that somehow someone is trying to overthrow them - is, as a revolutionary government, trying to overthrow the government of ... El Salvador."

Mr. Shultz, in a speech he planned to give Friday in Dallas to the World Affairs Council and the Chamber of Commerce, assailed Soviet-Cuban activities in Nicaragua and said the country had become a base for promoting the establishment of leftist dictatorships in "all of Central America."

This was a reference to Mr. Ortega's statement that Nicaragua "will examine the proposal and make our own decision" if the Russians ask the Managua government whether it wants to deploy Soviet

Earlier, a top official of the Central Committee of the Soviet Com- the Sept. I peace initiative. munist Party, Vadim V. Zagladin, had been quoted as suggesting that option if the United States goes ahead with its plan to deploy cruise "We see the need for action. It and Pershing-2 missiles in Europe very simple what has to be done." later this year.

■ U.S. Using AWACS Lou Cannon and Patrick E. Tyler of The Washington Post reported

After Mr. Reagan's press conference a top administration official said that "part of the interdiction" Mr. Reagan had referred to was the use of sophisticated Airborne Warning and Control System air-(Continued on Page 3, Col. 3)

President Ronald Reagan at his news conference.

U.S. Asks Other Arabs nced," he said, that Humberto Ortega Saavedra, Nicaragua's defense minister, "said on April 9 that Nicaragua would consider accepting Soviet missiles if asked." To Back Hussein Role By Osmold Let

Los Angeles Times Service

WASHINGTON - The Reagan administration has publicly called on Arab leaders to support Jordan's participation in peace talks with Israel, amid renewed speculation that the president would soon send Secretary of State George P. Shultz to the Middle East to revive

"We do not see the need for delay," the State Department spokesman, John Hughes, said Thursday. We see the need for action. It is

The issue of whether King Hussein should be given authority to speak for the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in talks with Israel on the future of those occupied territories has been "discussed sufficiently," Mr. Hughes said. "There has been enough talk. What is needed is decisions.

Mr. Hughes stressed that Mr. Shultz had not yet ruled out a trip to the region to dramatize Mr. Reagan's belief that his initiative was still alive despite Hussein's declaration Sunday that he would no longer participate. But Mr. Hughes also underlined another main strand in current administration thinking, that it is up to the Arabs to act in support of the U.S. plan if they really favor it.

"We have made our point clear," Mr. Hughes said. "We are looking ing out a Middle East trip if Mr. to others for movement now."

He and other administration officials have named Saudi Arabia. dan's taking part in talks. The problem continues to be the Palestine Liberation Organization. Tuesday from a brief visit to Meximize Liberation Organization. In Paris for a Middle East trip.

Tuesday from a brief visit to Meximize the Liberation Organization. In Paris for a Middle East trip.

Delay Seen in Palestinian Talks

A Palestinian leadership meeting. with Israel

State Department Middle East specialists, who several months ago urged Mr. Shultz to go to the region to press the Reagan initiative on the Arabs and also on Israel, which immediately rejected any proposed territorial compromise. now argue that a trip in the near future would be premature.

"We ought to give them time to sort things out," explained one official, who spoke to reporters on condition that he not be identified.

For instance, these specialists noted that the PLO chairman, Yasser Arafat, appears to be embarked on a new round of consulbetween King Hussein and Mr.

But some of Mr. Reagan's White House advisers are said to believe that the United States should be taking action now, if only to offer a public counterpoint to the elation Menachem Begin's government is somewhat gleefully writing off the Reagan initiative as a bad idea that met a deserved fate, and in Moscow, where the Soviet Union sees a chance for its renewed investment in radical Syria to pay off in ex-

panded influence in the region. Mr. Shultz himself has been asking advice in and out of the State Department, but has given little indication of what he plans to do. He met Mr. Reagan on two occasions Thursday, once at a National Se-curity Council meeting in the morning and later in private session. Aides were certain that the question of a Middle East trip would be addressed.

During a news conference Tuesday, Mr. Shultz had appeared to rule out a commitment of his own at this point by suggesting that it would be a mistake to "equate constructive efforts with visible moves of some kind." He added that "In fact, it may be that the best thing we can do right now is to keep qui-et for a while."

But officials later cautioned that Mr. Shultz had no intention of rul-Reagan decided the time was ripe.

In any case, the State Department's Near East bureau has tenta-Morocco, Egypt, Sudan and Leba-non as clearly ready to support Jor-tween Mr. Shnitz's return next tween Mr. Shultz's return next

A Palestinian leadership meeting set for Tunis this weekend to discuss ways of resuming talks with Jordan has been put off until at least Wednesday, Palestinian sources said Friday, Reuters reported from Tunis.

The meeting of all guerrilla leaders and members of the PLO's 14member executive committee was due to open Thursday, but it was put off when Mr. Arafat left on an official visit to Bulgaria Thursday,

U.K. Expels Soviet Aide The Associated Press

LONDON - Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government tations within the PLO and among Arab governments on how to revive his negotiations with Hussein. An administration official also April 8 of a British air attaché and confirmed that King Discourse and the Soviet Union's expulsion April 8 of a British air attaché and Confirmed that King Discourse and the Soviet Union's expulsion April 8 of a British air attaché and Confirmed that King Discourse and the Soviet Union's expulsion April 8 of a British air attaché and Confirmed that King Discourse and the Soviet Union's expulsion and the Soviet Union's expulsio confirmed that King Hassan II of a Financial Times journalist. The Morocco, chairman of the Arab Soviet moves followed the expul-League, has offered to intercede sion of three Russians by Britain.

In Italy, a Declining Newspaper and a Riddle Paese Sera Struggles to Survive After Mysterious Owners 'Disappear'

ROME - When the Communist of a reporter on the paper. Party sells a newspaper operation, who buys it? And why would the later? Those are the latest of Rome's mysteries.

Paese Sera, one of the capital's most widely read and best-edited dailies, had been owned by the Communist Party since as founding in 1943, after the arrival of the Allies, through a company called In the fall of 1981, when the pa-

rassing step of firing 99 persons. litically after the leader of the proabout a third of the editorial and clerical stati. in December 1981 the paper, which has a circulation of about

150,000, was sold to a company

called impredit, whose real owners are still not known. Impredit at first put money into the paper and expanded it. But on March 30 this year, the editor-gen-eral manager appointed by Im-predit, Mario Benedetti, called the percent of the shares. stall together abrupily and an impredit was an "empty box," a "street for at least a few more days, hastened by the appearance in the nonneed that the paper would be Paese Sera reporter said. Staff At the start of the week it had early 1970s of a new daily, La Re-

unknown buyer try to close it per that impreent bought Paese Sera associate a little more than a year with Soviet encouragement in the hope of creating a newspaper that would be a pro-Soviet voice to counterbalance the Italian Com-munist Party's increasing inde-pendence from Moscow. The money was said to have come from Italian businessmen who have been playing an active role as negotiators in Soviet-Italian trade and industrial relations.

per was losing money at the rate of But, the theory goes, the group 450 million lire (about \$340,000) a closed the paper when it realized mouth, the party took the embar that its venture had no chance po-Soviet wing of the party, Armando Cossutta, suffered a humiliating defeat at the Communist Party Congress in Milan early in March.

The shares of Impredit originally were owned or at least represented by three Rome lawyers who are members of the Communist Party but not of its leadership. Later Mr.

have independent means, who the the case this week or next. Many in Rome's political estab-lishment believe, but cannot prove, they did not want to come forth that Impredit bought Paese Sera publicly for the time being.

ment" enterprise without legal ment, which can find out who the standing or capital, they have been owners are because proprietors of a putting out the paper every day, re-newspaper must submit its ac-ceiving no salaries, drawing on old counts to the Guardia di Fmanza, stocks of newsprint and hoping that the state utility companies will not cut off the telephones, the lights and the computers because the bills have not been paid.

To cover basic operation costs, the self-management committee has appealed to the public, and millions of lire have been coming in from individuals whose names are printed in the paper every day. On Tuesday night at Rome's Teatro Tenda a score of Italy's most famous actors, comics and movie personalities staged a special evening for Paese, as it is commonly called, and brought in further

The paper's life thus seems as-

for financial reasons. Mr. Benedetti asked Mr. Benedetti, a former free-cording to one of the reporters. then "disappeared," in the words lance writer who was not known to Parliament is supposed to discuss The employees now hope to find

out who the owners are so they can publicly for the time being megotiate a legal takeover and go out and raise capital. They have printers and other employees took over the paper on the day it was to close. Acting as a "self-management" enterprise without legal out and raise capital. They have asked the Communist Party, which sold the paper in the first place, and they have asked the government, which can find out who the the fiscal police. There have been no answers so

far, according to Paese reporters.
Paese Sera has always taken a more interesting and independent line than L'Unità, the party's official mouthpiece, which is often forbidding and inclined to the subtlety of a bullhorn. Unlike L'Unità. Paese Sera has been strong on nonpolitical subjects and its cultural pages were long regarded as the best in the country est in the country.

But Paese Sera started losing money in the late 1970s, at the time the Communist Party started losing ground from its 1976 electoral

The decline of the paper was

INSIDE

■ Lech Walesa said he planned to meet again with under-ground leaders of the banned union Solidarity. Eight Gulf countries abandoned talks on how to deal with

a giant oil slick threatening

their shores. As scientists in an Arctic Circle camp work long into the cold, sunlit nights, issues of sovereign boundaries and inter-national politics are riding on their experiments.

Former criminals shielded by the U.S. Witness Protection Program have been allowed to evade major debts and to ignore child custody decrees, a study has found.

BUSINESS/FINANCE ■ Wholesale prices [ell 0.1 per-cent and industrial production rose 1.1 percent in March in the United States. A SPECIAL REPORT

Trilateralism, consultation between leaders of the United

Page 78.

A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR

States, Europe and Japan, is ex-MONDAY

Julius Nyerere, in the view of Jonathan Power, might do fellow Africans a service by changing course in Tanzania.

date had been announced. closed perminently three days later members say that whenever they newsprint for about 10 days, 30 (Continued on Page 2 Col. 4)

WORLD BRIEFS

1984. He said it was important to keep up pressure on Vietnam to seek a political solution to the conflict in Cambodia, where the Vietnamese for

two weeks have been waging an offensive against anti-Hanoi rebels near

Thailand on Friday called Vietnam a "criminal" nation and de-nounced Hanoi's charges that it had caused the border tension. At a news conference in Bangkok, a Foreign Ministry official also denied Viet-namese charges that Thailand had escalated regional tensions by acquir-

French Interns Warned on Strike

PARIS (Reuters) - A crisis in France's medical profession intensifed

Friday as officials warned that doctors in university hospitals would be ordered back to work if they stopped providing emergency services.

"I will not tolerate zero service," Edmond Hervé, the secretary of state for health, said at a press conference as a strike by 8,500 interns in

teaching hospitals entered into its fourth week. Mr. Herve said the

strikers could face dismissal, while hospital directors would be held legal-

ly responsible for maintaining emergency services.

Doctors interrupted normal services March 22 to protest medical reforms that they say would reduce access to private practice and teaching after years in poorly paid specialist training.

AMSTERDAM (AP) - China has banned the Dutch airline KLM

from using Canton as an alternative or bad weather airport in an appar-

ent protest against the start of direct air services between Taiwan and the

Netherlands, a KLM spokesman said Friday.

"The Chinese air authorities told us of the decision via operational channels a few days ago." a KLM spokesman said. "We assume it is because of the new air agreement with Taiwan." The Dutch airline flew.

its first flight to Taiwan under the agreement last Saturday. KLM does not fly directly to destinations in China, but Canton was previously listed

as a bad weather airport for its Hong Kong-bound flights.

Meanwhile, in Beijing, aviation sources said Friday that China has warned the United States of "severe repercussions" if Pan American.

World Airways goes ahead with its announced decision to resume flights

to Taiwan in June. Pan Am is the only U.S. airline with passenger service

BUDAPEST (UPI) - Hungary's ruling Communist Party renewed

support Friday for the country's innovative economic system, in which private enterprise and new forms of state-backed small businesses are

But the party also criticized opposition on both ends of the political

spectrum in a 35-page resolution adopted at the end of a two-day meeting of its Central Committee. The session was held Tuesday and Wednes-

The resolution did not announce any changes in the political leader-

ship. One political source said Janos Kadar, the party chief, vetoed the

replacement of Gyorgy Lazar, the ailing prime minister, because the

BRUSSELS (Reuters) - The European Community Commission an-

nounced Friday that it was starting legal proceedings against France and

A community spokesman said that the action concerned France's planned aid of 34.5 million francs (about \$5 million) to an American firm.

and Britain's plans to give another U.S. firm almost £20 million (\$30

aid to expand its plant in Scotland and £10 million to support a train

France has programmed aid for the Timex watch company to set up a

Hungary Reaffirms Innovations

playing an increasing role.

political timing was too delicate.

Britain over planned aid to U.S. firms.

million) in aid.

program at the plant.

China Bans KLM From Canton

Reagan and Kohl End Talks With Pledge on **U.S. Missile Strategy**

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany stressed very strongly in his talks wound up what was described as a with Secretary of State George P.

agreement is not reached. Mr. Reagan said after the meet-ing that Mr. Kohl had renewed his "strong endorsement" of the U.S. negotiating posture, adding that the allies were "united on deployment according to schedule."

Mr. Kohl said he and Mr. Reagan had agreed that the recent U.S. interim arms reduction pro-posal "offers a basis for flexible and dynamic negotiations." He added that he did not believe that the Soviet rejection of the proposal was the Russians' last word. Later, senior U.S. officials quot-

ed Mr. Kohl as telling Mr. Reagan: "If there is no agreement in Gene-

Mitterrand Seeks Improvement in Ties With Russia

BERN - President François Mitterrand of France said Friday that he hoped French-Soviet relations, damaged by last week's ex-pulsion of 47 Soviet diplomats and officials, would improve. The relationship between Paris and Moscow, he said is indispensable to East-West balance.

At a press conference at the end of a two-day official visit to Switzerland. Mr. Mitterrand shrugged off an increasingly strident Soviet

press campaign against France. He repeated an earlier statement that the Russians were expelled only for spying and that the move East and West."
was not intended to have any adOfficials said verse effect on relations between Paris and Moscow. Any country drid meeting on European security that found foreign functionaries and linked agreement on a Europe-spying on its soil would do as an disarmament conference, great-france did, he added. It desired by the Soviet Union.

head of state to visit Switzerland in which is strongly supported by the 73 years, was met on arrival Thurs- West. day by newspaper editorials critical to Switzerland appeared to have armament in Europe and progress overcome initial Swiss coolness.

very constructive meeting Friday Shultz Thursday night, with Vice with a pledge of renewed efforts in President George Bush at breakfast the Geneva arms talks with the So-Friday and with Mr. Reagan that viet Union and a promise that new there should be no change in the U.S. missiles would be deployed on timetable for deployment.

schedule in Europe if an arms They said Mr. Kohl called the missile deployment "the means by which the Soviet Union would be brought to negotiate seriously. The officials also said Mr. Kohl had strongly stated that Pershing-2 missiles should be deployed as well

> Later Allen Waliace, a State Department official, indicated that the United States had dropped plans to bring up controversial plans to limit East-West trade at the Williamsburg, Virginia, summit next month. European officials had expressed the fear that new U.S. efforts to limit sales of Western tech-nology to the Soviet bloc would destroy the summit. Mr. Kohl told reporters that he and the president agreed on the need for continued efforts toward a common approach to East-West economic relations."

Mr. Wallace also said that Mr. Kohl told Mr. Reagan he planned to visit Moscow later this year to advise the Soviet Union that West

The spokesman said Mr. Reagan told Mr. Kohl that he would meet with Yuri V. Andropov, the Soviet leader, only in a constructive, wellprepared summit with a prospect of real results, but that he rejected a quick introductory meeting be-

cause it would raise false hopes.

Mr. Kohl said later, "We are agreed that personal contact with leaders of the Soviet Union continues to be important" in "developing constructive relations between

Officials said the two men also discussed a follow-up to the Ma-Mr. Mitterrand, the first French with a dialogue on human rights.

In his meeting with reporters. of France's austerity measures and Mr. Kohl implied such a linkage alleged trade protectionism. How- when he said "we will strive for ever, the president's pledge that early substantive results, including France would be a good neighbor agreement on a conference on dis-

Twice As Much Art for Your Money

"I anticipated that," said Bass.
"I've been putting one together Sit

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CHANGE OF COMMAND - General Bernard W. Rogers, the NATO commander, center, passed the colors of the U.S. Army in Europe from General Frederick J. Kroesen, right, to General Glenn K. Otis in a ceremony Friday in Heidelberg. General Kroesen is retiring after 40 years of service. General Otis last served as commander of the Training and Doctrine Command at Fort Monroe, Virginia.

informed on the negotiations with

Moscow, Mr. Reagan's strategies

On a related matter, the respon-

On El Salvador, 61 percent of

the United States." That was more

Reagan Soviet Policy advise the Soviet Union that West Germany was and planned to remain, firmly in the Western alli-

Reagan strategy.

fared somewhat better.

(Continued from Page 1)

equalize the balance. Once that is on the way to being done and Washington can negotiate from Among the 50 percent of those strength, Moscow will make the interviewed who considered themnecessary concessions in arms control negotiations.

On Soviet superiority, the Times-CBS News poll showed that the public backs the president. In January, 11 percent thought the Unit- dents gave Mr. Reagan's recent ed States superior, 47 percent said proposal for developing a defensive military power was equal, and 32 system to destroy incoming Soviet percent said the United States was missiles a ringing endorsement -

weaker.

67 percent in layor versus 25 perIn the latest poll, the breakdown cent against. At least in part, this
was 12 percent United States superior. 36 percent equal, and 42 perfaith in American technology as cent believing America was weaker. the solution to problems.

The Times and CBS News did not ask about support for in- those surveyed called it "very imcreased military spending in the portant to the defense interests of poll. But a survey last fall done by Gallup for the Chicago Council on than Poland, which received 48 Foreign Relations showed a 10-per-percent, and less than Israel, with cent drop in those favoring larger 69 percent. Moreover, 47 percent military budgets and a correspond- of the public thought El Salvador ing increase in those favoring cuts. would be worse off if the United

The Times-CBS News poll asked States had never got involved, whether Mr. Reagan was sincere while 30 percent thought it would about arms control or was just us- be better off. ing his proposals "to quiet his critthey responded he really means

But when asked whether the decreased and 47 percent kept the Moscow. "military buildup will convince the same. Soviet Union to negotiate seriously Union want to produce more to Ei Salvador, from 10 percent last weapons rather than negotiate," 27 percent said the approach would those saying Washington should work and 56 percent said Moscow stay out of El Salvador dropped would simply produce more arms. from 63 percent to 57 percent.

Quits Post

By Michael Getler

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON - Albert A.

spiegel, a longtime supporter of

President Ronald Reagan who

served for the past two years as a

presidential adviser on matters of

concern to the Jewish community.

has abruptly resigned his volunteer

Mr. Spiegel declined to discuss

the reasons for his decision Thurs-

day. But he acknowledged that it

had to do "in part" with an article in The Wall Street Journal the

According to the article. Mr.

Reagan reportedly has told King Hussein of Jordan that he is going to lose the Jewish vote in 1984 by

pressing for a Middle East peace

plan that Israel opposes, but be

Senior administration officials said that Mr. Spiegel had resigned

because he was upset at the article.

But these officials denied that Mr. Reagan had said anything to King

Hussein about "the Jewish vote. Mr. Reagan, one said. "has never

said anything like that, and anyone

who knows the president would find that out of character."

Mr. Spiegel is a Los Angeles

businessman who worked in Mr.

Reagan's campaign for governor of California in 1966 and served as a

vice chairman of his 1980 presiden-

Mr. Spiegel said that aside from

the report, there were other "pro-

cedural as well as programmanc"

reasons for his departure. But he

declined to be any more specific, saying that he "had and hopes to

still have a cordial relationship"

with the president, who he said he

White House press secretary, quot-

lewish vote was "outrageous."

Mr. Spiegel in the last several

ted to him," Mr. Speakes said.

fairs," Mr. Speakes added.

■ Report Called 'Outrageous'

"admires and respects."

tial campaign.

still feels he can be re-elected.

same morning.

Even Republicans divided 50

percent to 33 percent against the (Continued from Page 1) Among the 50 percent of those

was a complete elimination of this entire class of weapons." But he was quick to suggest that Mr. Reagan was flexible, that "we're willing to go for interim measures,"

One questioner noted that Mr. Adelman had been pictured as a hawk. "I've had dealings with the Soviet Union for two years in New York," he replied. "They're ac-quainted with my work at the UN. I've found it possible to discuss and negotiate with them."

Mr. Adelman, educated at Grinnell College in Iowa, has a doctorate in African studies from Georgetown University. He has written articles on Africa, arms and other foreign policy questions.

Under President Richard M. Nixon he worked in the Office of Economic Opportunity, the antipoverty agency, then left for two years of study and travel in Africa. ■ Tass Criticizes Adelman

The Soviet news agency Tass said Friday that Mr. Adelman's ap-But the depth of this judgment pointment proved that Washington: would increase military aid to El talks as much as possible. United Salvador, while 30 percent want it Press International reported from

The nomination was a sign that There was, however, a modest "the White House intends to about arms control" or whether "a increase in those who believed that thwart completely the process of terrorist attack against visitors to U.S. buildup will make the Soviet economic aid should be provided arms control and to gain a free the scene of the Warsaw Ghetto hand for the further runaway esca-lation of war preparations," Tass About 1,000 foreign vis March to 17 percent now. And said. It called Mr. Adelman an "outright hawk and opponent of measures to curb the arms race."

home Friday. Iraq offered a limited cease-fire

in the slick area but Iran said it

wanted explicit safe-conduct for

the repair crews. Iran has said the

wells were hit by Iraqi fire but the

lragis claim only one Iranian well

is leaking and that it was damaged

Renewed heavy fighting this week between Iran and Iraq had

dimmed hopes for a formula to al-

Mr. Ghani said that Saudi Ara-

bia and its Gulf allies had drawn

up a plan for an immediate cap-

ping of the wells and creation of a

noncombat zone, under the

auspices of an international body.

"But Iran rejected those terms,"

Mr. Ghani said, "and it refused to

in the area of the slick.

cease fire."

low repair crews to begin work.

by accident.

Jewish Aide Iran and Iraq Trade Accusations

To Reagan As Gulf Talks on Spill Break Up

KUWAIT - Eight Gulf coun-

tries abandoned talks Friday on

how to deal with a giant oil slick

Ministers from the eight states

gave up after three days of trying

to persuade Baghdad and Tehran

to let workmen cap wells in an Ira-nian field in a Gulf war zone, dele-

The Iraqi ambassador to Kuwait, Abdul-Jabbar Oman

Ghani, said: "Consultations have

reached a dead end because of Ira-

nian stubbornness, Iraq has made

concessions but they have not re-

Ardekani, said the talks had foun-

dered because Baghdad had insist-

ed that Iraqis should be included in

repair crews sent to Iran's Nowruz field at the head of the Gulf.

Iran's ambassador, Ali Shams

threatening their shores, while Iraq and Iran blamed each other for the

impasse.

gates said.

Adelman Will Meet Legislators

to trade undeployed medium-range missiles for scrapped Soviet SS-20s.

explosion" in early May.

tained, the newspaper said.

more than a dozen times in the capital, was last heard on March 31, when the announcer painted a should not be blocked by the EC. The challenge to Britain concerned should not be blocked by the EC. The challenge to Britain concerned prospects and appealed to plans to provide the Hyster fork-lift truck company with £9.5 million in people to maintain faith in Solidar-

Meanwhile, the government enforced tight security regulations in Warsaw, apparently in fear of a

About 1,000 foreign visitors are

U.S. Assures Thais of Arms Aid With Union SINGAPORE (UPI) - The U.S. assistant secretary of state, Paul Wol. fowitz, said Friday that Washington will ensure that Thailand has the firepower to face a threat from Vietnamese troops occupying Cambodia. He said the Reagan administration was seeking an increase of direct military assistance to Thailand from \$66 million in 1983 to \$99 million in

the Thai border.

ing weapons from the United States.

Would Evade Police To Meet Underground

Walesa Plans

More Talks

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispensher WARSAW — Lech Walesa, lead-er of the banned Solidarity union, said Friday he planned to repeat last weekend's meeting with offi-cials of the union who have gone

Mr. Walesa, speaking to a re-porter for a U.S. television net-work, said, "I am planning to meet the underground again." Asked how he would manage this, he re-plied, "I have done it before and can do it the same way as last time." He said he was sure he could

avoid being followed.

Mr. Walesa spoke to the reporter
as he waited outside the provincial police headquarters in Gdansk where his driver, Micczyslaw Wachowski, was taken for ques-

tioning earlier in the day.

Mr. Walesa and his wife, Danuta, were questioned at the police station this week after Mr. Walesa issued a statement Tuesday an-nouncing last weekend's meeting with Solidarity's "provisional coor-dinating commission." The couple said they had refused to answer po-

The committee is composed of five union leaders who escaped capture after the declaration of martial law on Dec. 13, 1981. They have waged an underground cam-paign for restoration of the independent labor movement, which was outlawed in October.

There was also no official response to the committee's statement calling for demonstrations on May 1, the first appeal for street rallies since martial law was suspended at the end of December.

The appeal was issued after the secret weekend meeting, but Mr. Walesa did not sign it. He said, however, that his action did not mean he was dissociating himself from it. Asked Friday whether he would take part in any May Day demonstration himself, Mr. Walesa said he believed the authorities would prevent him from doing this.
Interior Minister Czeslaw

Kiszczak has said the authorities are prepared for what he called "an

The Communist Party daily, EC to Block Aid to U.S. Companies
Trybuna Ludu, reported Friday that security police Wednesday night seized a transmitter used to broadcast the clandestine Radio Solidarity. Several people were de-

The radio, which has transmitted

expected in the capital to mark the volt on Tuesday.

pervise the work.

ed as saving

tan province.

continue."

in the 31-month-old war.

Tehran radio said Friday that

Iranian forces beat off an Iraqi

counterattack aimed at recapturing

several beights near the border town of Fakkeh, in Iran's Khuzes-

plant at Besançon, in the eastern part of the country.

VIENNA (Reuters) - Chancellor Bruno Kreisky described Israel Friday as one of the world's biggest troublemakers and said Israeli government policy was playing into the hands of Arab radicals.

Kreisky Says Israel Blocks Talks

The chancellor, a campaigner for Middle East peace since the early 1970s, said at a news conference that the position of moderates within the Palestine Liberation Organization was getting weaker because they had failed to get any response to their calls for negotiations.

"The Israeli government is playing into the hands of all the radical Arabs within and outside the PLO because they refuse negotiations as much as the Arabs do," he said. "It must be clear to everybody that Israel is one of the biggest troublemakers in the world."

Argentina Restores Rights to 19 delegate at the talks, was going countries in the region could su-

BUENOS AIRES (UPI) — Argentina's military junta has restored the "But we have only one condi"But to participate in politics to 19 political and labor leaders, including the former president, Isabel Perón. tion, and that is, when these are

being repaired, Iraq should not

The action Thursday was a first step toward the end of eight years of continue its criminal and insane acmilitary rule and fulfillment of the junta's pledge to permit a free and tivities," Mr. Khamenei was quot- open campaign before new elections Oct. 30.

Although the announcement would permit Mrs. Perón to return to Iran and Iraq have been locked Argentina, it apparently would still bar her from holding office because in battle on their border around she was convicted of misusing government funds while she was president Iraq's Misan province for the past. She was overthrown March 24, 1976, and spent five years under house for the past. week after a new Iranian offensive arrest before obtaining permission to go into self-imposed exile in Spain

Turkey Warns of U.S. Arms Cuts ISTANBUL (Reuters) - The prime minister of Turkey, Bulend Ulusu.

said Friday that any cut in the proposed U.S. military aid to his country At a prayer rally Friday in Tehran, Mr. Khamener said the next year would adversely affect the NATO alliance. Newspapers here reported that the U.S. Congress was likely to cut

Iranian offensive had been successful "but it has not ended and will for Turkey in 1984. Mr. Ulusu said the amount was the minimum required by Turkey within the context of the North Atlantic Treaty Organ. Colonel Sayad Shirazi, the com- ization.

mander of the ground forces, told the rally that one of the operation's recommended by the United States for any country in the world, up from

Turkish Plane Hijacked to Athens

ATHENS (UPI) - A Turkish Airlines plane with 113 persons abound was hijacked on a domestic flight Friday and forced to land in Athens by a man armed with a knife and a bottle purportedly containing explosive material, officials said.

Late in the evening, the hijacker released 53 passengers and began negotiations with Marshall Lewis Johnston, the Australian ambassador to Greece police said. The hijacker, whose nationality was not known. claimed to belong to a leftist organization but did not identify it. Transportation Minister Nicolas Akritidis said the man demanded

that the Boeing 727 be refueled for a flight to Sydney and asked to speak to Australian officials. The Turkish Airlines jet, carrying 106 passengers and a crew of seven, was seized over the Aegean Sea on a flight from Istanbul to Izmir.

For the Record

NEW YORK (UPI) - Two explosions and a fire triggered by a propane gas tank ripped through the top floors of the 39-story UN Plaza Hotel on Friday, shattering undows and sending intense flames and black smoke skyward. No injuries were reported.

LUBECK, West Germany (Reuters) - About 150 Lübeck doctors have signed a declaration that they will not prescribe drugs made by the Swiss multinational Hoffmann-La Roche, a spokesman for the group said Fire day. A spokesman said the doctors' faith in the company had been shall tered by what he called its refusal to say where 41 barrels of dioxin waste

from Italy were being stored.

CORRECTION: A Washington Post story in Friday's International to the Herald Tribune erroneously reported that a proposed amendment to the House nuclear freeze resolution had called for reducing nuclear weapons before pursuing a freeze. The amendment did not make prior reductions a condition of seeking a freeze.

The Iranian news agency quoted President Ali Khamenei as saying Mr. Ghani said Health Minister Friday that his country would try objectives was to overthrow the \$450 million last year. Sadeq Hamid Alloush, Iraq's chief to cap the leak and that other Iraqi government. Rome Paper's Ownership a Riddle

(Continued from Page 1)

pubblica, which under the direction of its imaginative editor, Eugenio Scalfari, catered to the carriage trade of radical chic that had formed the readership of Paese Sera, along with simpler folk in the poor quarters of the city. La Repubblica soon became the leading paper for that part of Rome's reading public.

Il Manifesto, a much smaller leftist paper, also is fighting for survival and appealing to the public for financial support.

Founded 20 years ago by a group of Communist intellectuals Larry M. Speakes, the deputy who left the party and now form debate in Parliament. ed Mr. Reagan as saying the statetheir own group in Parliament, Il Manifesto is a journal of opinion ment attributed to him about the ed. 'He was frankly appalled that string. Its contributors and bandful such a statement would be attribuof editors often go without pay. Early this year it applied for gov-

help it meet the cost of converting members of parliament from most to modern printing technology, parties. When the government did not pay, The g Il Manifesto went to court and won its case in February. But the subsidies have not been forthcoming.

On April 7, fl Manifesto, which

normally sells for about 35 cents, charged the equivalent of \$8 a copy in a publicized fund-raising campaign, and, for that day, nearly doubled its circulation to about 40.000. On the front page it printed a box with a message of good wishes from President Sandro Pertini, a

So is the case of Radio Radicale,

cal spectrum from left to right. Radio Radicale's specialty is to

The government argued that Radio Radicale had to be closed be-

cause it interfered with the frequencies of national radio and television network and violates the national network's monopoly on live broadcasts.

Nicaragua, Costa Rica Plan Summit Talks United Press Internation

MANAGUA - Daniel Ortega, the Nicaraguan junta coordinator,
The Il Manifesto case is due for will meet with President Luis Alberto Monge of Costa Rica to defuse border tension between the a private radio station sponsored two Central American nations, ofaimed at a small special audience by the Radical Party, a group that ficials said. They added that no United Press International report- and has always operated on a shoe- ranges through much of the politi- date nor site had been decided for the talks

Tension between the two neighbroadcast parliamentary debates bors has flared recently. Managna erriment subsidies citing a recent live and in full. Since many of the has charged that rebels opposed to months has indicated a desire "to law under which the government debates are not exactly expressions its Marxist-led government have devote full time to his personal af- can provide newsprint for five of high-level statesmanship, the launched attacks into Nicaragua years to a newspaper in trouble to practice is not at all popular with from Costa Rica.

Just South of the North Pole, Experiments in Ice and International Politics

New York Times Service

ICE STATION CESAR, Arctic Ocean - As had hovered for four days around 40 degrees land masse 36 scientists and technicians in this well-manlat- below zero. ed tent camp work long into the cold, sunlit nights wresting secrets from an opaque ocean, issues of sovereign boundaries and international

The expedition, known by its acronym CESAR, is being sponsored by the Canadian Ministry of Energy, Mines and Resources to

"We have a fantastic opportunity here to gain

data we will all be analyzing for years," said the Swiss-born geologist.

The scientists are part of the Canadian Expedition to Study the Alpha Ridge, which began in late March and is to continue until the ice.

But Christopher Burning, a spokesman for the Canadian ministry, did not hide the more practical hopes of the Canadian sponsors.

Mr. Burting, who accommands

Mr. Bunting, who accompanied a group of reporters on a 3,000-mile northward journey from Montreal, said, "An Arctic presence is important to us if Canada is going to be competitive as a northern nation, and sovereignty is ob-

chart and explore a huge underwater momental range below the ice. On charts prepared by the U.S. Navy, the ridge covers an area larger than tests that may establish whether the Alpha that spanned by the Alps.

Ridge is an extension of the Canadian continental shelf or whether the chain of submerged that shelf or whether the chain of submerged that spanned by the Aps.

The ridge is the last relatively unknown and tal shelf or whether the chain of submerge unchanted major geological feature left in the peaks rose up in an ancient volcanic emption.

World, explained Hans Weber, the camp's Under the Law of the Scanner Court which Court has beinginged.

Under the Law of the Sea Treaty, which Canhief scientist.

ada, unlike the United States, has initialed, a
His reddish beard was whitened by icicles of nation has 10 years in which it can make a claim

The fine points of the treaty, which was signed in December, have not yet been tested, but it is at least technically possible for Canada to assert title and control over much of the Arctic, almost to the pole. At the moment, these are international waters.

Among the main experiments are chemical and geological analyses of sediment and horings brought up from the Alpha crests and their comparison with samples from the shores of Canada's Arctic islands.

Also, seismic tests, movements of currents. electromagnetic flows and the ganging of rela-tive variations in gravity are being studied in a broad survey.

"These different approaches may supply us with different pieces of the whole puzzle of the Alpha Ridge." Mr. Weber said, explaining the effort going on in the laboratory buts and lents

After a daylong storm on April 9, in which wind-churned surface snow cut visibility to about this place.

The ice station lies at 85 degrees, 45 minutes north latitude and 110 degrees, 53 minutes west of scientists with the Russians. But after some longitude. From the 42-year-old DC-3 that cardiplomatic overtures to the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, the prospects of contact seemed re-Resolute Bay, the flat, occasionally crinkled ice more. appears awesome in its scale but largely undifferentiated in its features.

Mr. Bunting expressed the long view. "What scientists find out here could perhaps give initial indications of mineral or energy resources which could prove valuable to future genera-

Ruth Jackson, a geophysicist from Halifax, Nova Scotia, who is supervising the extraction of cores and sediment from the ridge below,

tory was purchased from Russia.

For an area that appears so remote and descinches, and days and nights of numbing tem- late, there is indeed quite a lot of activity going peratures, some of the trespassing nonscientists on. Just 250 miles to the northwest, the Soviet wondered how anyone could feel possessive Union has a permanently staffed ice station called North Pole 25.

Mr. Weber has hoped to arrange exchanges

The Russians are apparently concentrating their efforts on the Lomonosov Ridge, another submarinal chain, which the Canadians had studied in their last high Arctic expedition three years ago. The scientists here are all in agreement that the Soviet effort is far more costly, although not necessarily more sophisticated, than CESAR, which has a budget of 1.7 million Canadian dollars, or about \$1.4 million.

That there is also some U.S. involvement in

frozen breath. At this point only 240 miles (384 to an exclusive economic zone lying beyond the kilometers) from the North Pole, the weather submerged geological extensions of its national with its own comforting plume.

The point only 240 miles (384 to an exclusive economic zone lying beyond the deployment of submassion of Alaska by the region beyond the deployment of submassion in the region beyond the deployment of submassions of its national with its own comforting plume. message Sunday from the crew members of a specially modified, three-engine DC-3, which sought to land because of a fuel leak

The pilot mentioned that he was flying south from Crystal City, which scientists said was a small encampent at the North Pole staffed by American civilians under contract to the U.S. Navy. The three-engine plane could not land here because the storm had damaged the run-

plane, which operates from a U.S. base at Thule, Greenland, went on to land at the Canadian military base Alert.

In addition to such flurries of activity in the national interest, there has been concern for individual Arctic enterprises. Two adventurers, a Briton and an Italian, have taken advantage of the firm ice and what is said to be relatively. by foot to the North Pole.

Witnesses Protected By U.S. Government Said to Abuse Status

By Mary Thornton Washington Post Service.

WASHINGTON — Former criminals shielded by the U.S. Witness Protection Program have been allowed to evade millions of dollars in debts and to ignore court decrees ordering them to turn over children to divorced or separated spouses, according to a General Accounting Office study.

"The study also found that "it was not uncommon" for the witnesses to commit new crimes. The GAO said seven witnesses had been convicted of murder, another had been charged with murder and four others may have been involved with murders."

Under the program, run by the U.S. Marshals Service, protected witnesses are relocated and given a new identity after testimony against former associates.

When the program began 12 years ago it was expected to handle 25 to 50 witnesses a year. Instead, more than 300 enter each year -4,300 since 1970. The annual budget has reached \$28 million.

The Justice Department, in re-__ sponse to the GAO report, said the program was difficult to run. But it said many problems, particularly debt collection and child custody rights, had been resolved a year ago with an internal memorandum giving program officials authority to disclose the names of witnesses

who refused to obey court orders. The GAO, which is the investigative arm of Congress, would like
to see the policy spelled out in lesgious, and the witness has the cagious, and the witness has the cagious has

following the recommendations. Senator Baucus said Thursday that the protection program was "an important tool in our anti-crime ef-fort," but added, "It should not violate the rights of law-abiding.

innocent persons." E Kevin Rooney, assistant attor-" ney general for administration, said such legislation could produce "unnecessary and possibly lengthy litigation, further burdening the in judicial system." He said the Justice Department needs more time : to "demonstrate that its new policy

will alleviate these concerns. The study documented 10 cases in which relocated parents disappeared with children, in violation

One case involves Donna Ruftalo of Kansas City, whose former instance of Kansas City, whose former husband disappeared with her son into the wimess program in 1978, although she had legal custody. She still has not seen the child, who is now 13. The marshals service has refused to tell her where the child

George Kannar, the American Civil Liberties Union lawyer repre-senting Mrs. Ruffalo, has argued that parents have a right to a hearing before a child can be taken away by the government. Last mouth an appeals court found that Mrs. Ruffalo's constitutional right to due process was violated when her son was taken without any hearing. The case was sent back to U.S. District Court, where it is scheduled for trial next month.

Howard Safir, an assistant director of the marshals service and the head of the witness program, said he could not talk about the case. but added that marshals simply delivered court orders to witnesses and "have absolutely no legal an- commander that he would keep an

Custody records are carefully checked before witnesses enter the program, he said. "We don't want to be in the business of taking children away from people who have legal custody," he added

The GAO also found that in a six-month period in 1980 creditors tried to collect \$7.3 million in debts

of Montana, who initially requested the GAO study in 1979, will inless exists, but said he believes it is troduce legislation early next week ourweighed by the benefits. "It's following the recommendations. very effective as far as putting major criminals in jail," he said.

Mr. Safir added that local police are provided with the criminal records of witnesses who commit law in Central America, Mr. Shultz felonies. But the GAO complained that "although the marshals service had attempted to establish an arof court orders dealing with custo- rest log, the log was not very useful dy or visitation rights of the other because it was not consistently prepared or maintained."

Nicaragua

ic Ocean.

While Mr. Reagan insisted that and Mr. Reagan's national security adviser, William P. Clark, were making the same argument to Representative Edward P. Boland, the Massachusetts Democrat who is chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

Mr. Boland is the author of an amendment that prohibits U.S. assistance "for the purpose" of over-throwing the Nicaragnan government or provoking military conflict between Nicaragua and neighboring Honduras.

At his press conference, Mr. Reagan — after first asserting he could say only that the administration was "complying with the law"

— vigorously defended his policies
in Central America and attacked the "completely Marxist" government of Nicaragna.

government," he said. "Nicaragua today has created the biggest mili-tary force in all of Central America and large parts of South America Soviet weapons that consist of heavy-duty tanks, an air force, helicopter guiships, fighter planes, bombers and so forth."

New Jersey Democrat who re-

turned this week from a fact-find-

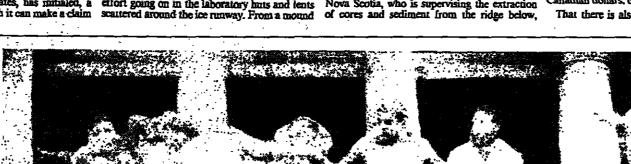
Mr. Torricelli accused Mr. End-

ing trip to Nicaragua.

Mr. Reagan said the force was opposed by a few thousand Miskito Indians and guerrillas. The administration has never asserted that the Nicaraguans possess an air force of any significance.

Thomas O. Enders, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, returned to Capitol Hill on Thursday to brief the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He enaged in a heated exchange with Representative Robert Torricelli, a

oxide, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration recommended that the allowable level of exposure be reduced to one part per million parts of air. The current ers of making "inflammatory standard is 50 parts per million, charges that Nicaragua was pre-Officials of the American Federa-pared to accept Soviet missiles. The tion of State, County, and Munici- congressmen said Mr. Enders was evidence showed that the chemical explicitly that they "have no intenwas hazardous at levels below one tion of basing offensive weapons in



LIFELINE - Firemen pull a Chilean woman to safety from a third-story ledge of a building in São Paulo, Brazil. The firemen made the rescue after the woman, who had threatened to kill herself, briefly looked away.

Salvador Mutiny Is Seen Averted

itary sources in El Salvador say Magaña convinced the sir force thority to make any witness do earlier commitment to see General anything."

> The air force chief, Colonel Juan Rafael Bustillo, declared in interviews Thursday that after Friday he would no longer obey General Garcia's orders. But late Thursday afternoon, without citing specifics, Colonel Bustillo said that "at this moment some solutions" had been

Colonel Bustillo, whom one SAN SALVADOR - Senior mil- Western military observer called "as professional as any officer in that what appeared as imminent this army," informed the U.S. Emmutiny by the air force was averted bassy weeks ago that he would carnursday when President Alvaro by out what one source termed a ry out what one source termed a "job action" if General Garcia did not go. Military sources had said Thursday morning that Colonel Bustillo was prepared to begin that

General Garcia has long been reputed to be the most powerful man in the country and is certainly one of its most adroit political survivors, the only senior member of the government to have maintained his position since 1979. But his administration of the war against leftist found for his demands and that guerrillas has come under heavy their extent would be evident next criticism from many of his field

U.S. officials here have insisted that they would not interfere with the internal affairs of the army that Washington is training and arming. One of them made it clear in recent days that they would askance" at another mutiny, just as they are trying to get congressional approval for substantial increases in military aid, according to informed sources.

The incipient was directly tied to another rebellion in January by Lieutenant Colonel Sigifredo Ochoa, a provincial commander.

One military source close to for changing any and all of the em-Colonel Bustillo, said: "He's fed up with the same things Ochoa is fed up with. He's convinced if changes aren't made in the high comma the whole country is going to fall."

the environment, the environmen-

cific commitments to change poli-Reaction to the meeting among the 26 environmental leaders present was mixed. Most said they were

that the EPA was in trouble, but they said they intended to take a wait-and-see attitude on his per-"One has to feel that his inclina

tions are good, but we have to wait for the proof of the pudding," said J. Michael McCloskey, executive director of the Sierra Club.

Gaylord Nelson, former Demo-

Richard Ayres, a senior attorney for the Natural Resources Defense Council, said he disagreed with his colleagues who felt the meeting was "fruitful." "It was a frank meeting, but whether it bears fruit

his formal nomination of Mr. Ruckelshaus to Congress. Hearings on the nomination in the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, originally expected to start next week, will probably not begin until the first week in May.

Mr. Ruckelshaus, the first ad-ministrator of the EPA, from 1970 toxic waste programs.

The euvironmentalists reported that Mr. Ruckelshaus had said he intended to set up guidelines under which EPA officials could communicate with representatives of in-

dustries regulated by the agency.

Environmentalists have frequently said that the agency has shown favoritism to business.

The Associated Press

KARACHI, Pakistan - An explosion at a Shiite mosque here injured three persons Thursday, the third day of violence between the Shiite Moslem minority and the

Reagan Aides Suggest He'll Seek a 2d Term

By David Hoffman

Washington Post Service WASHINGTON - President Ronald Reagan's two leading aides have suggested more firmly than ever that he will seek a second term, with a decision to be made in late summer and an announcement

The White House chief of staff, James A. Baker 3d, said in a speech Wednesday night in Houston that Mr. Reagan would make an an-nouncement after Labor Day (Sept. 5) and that the decision will gladden the bearts of his admirers

The presidential counselor, Edwin Meese 3d, told reporters Thursday that if Mr. Reagan "had to make the derision (additional political directors invited to the White House.

Asked Thursday Thursday that if Mr. Reagan "had to make the derision (additional political directors from the last campaign has been invited to the White House. to make the decision today he change that outlook by summer.

Despite the hints that Mr. Reagan will run in 1984, the president has not yet decided, according to those close to the president. One indication of this, they said, is his indication of this, they said, is his refusal to sign an authorization allowing supporters to set up an offi-

cial exploratory campaign organi-

"In the past he has not been comfortable letting the organiza-tion get ahead of his decision," said one of Mr. Reagan's close political advisers. The president has his own calendar, and the announcement won't be until fall, and it could be late fall."

Regardless of the calendar, however, many of Mr. Reagan's politi-cal supporters and Capitol Hill alhes have been pressing for signals that he will seek another term. Mr. Reagan has responded with hints that he will run but nothing that could be called a commitment.

"Among most of us who are working with him, there is a gener-

Meese said. The conventional wisdom to 55 years in prison.

among White House officials is that, barring unforescen problems, Mr. Reagan will reach a final decision at his California ranch in August and announce his candidacy af ter Labor Day, Mr. Reagan made his official entry into the 1980 cam-paign in November 1979, becom-ing the last of the Republican cang the last of the Republican can-

didates to appounce Even while Mr. Reagan ponders the decision this spring and sum-mer, his aides and political operatives are laying the groundwork for a campaign. The president recently kicked off a series of luncheons for

Asked Thursday what Mr. Reagan would base his decision on, would definitely plan to run," and Mr. Meese said: "It will be based that circumstances are unlikely to on his feeling that there still is work to be done, and I think it is pretty clear that there is."

Teamsters Chief

CHICAGO - Roy L. Williams who was convicted in December of conspiring to bribe a U.S. senator, resigned as head of the Teamsters union Friday and was granted free-dom while he appeals his convic-

The resignation was part of a deal with the court. The U.S. District Court judge, Prentice H. Marshall, signed an order that freed Mr. Williams on his own recognizance provided that he has no contact with the Teamsters before his resignation is effective next Wednesday. The union leader had been scheduled to surrender Friday at the federal prison hospital in Springfield, Missouri.

Mr. Williams, 68, who has emal feeling that he will run, and in physema, was hospitalized Tuesday any event - whether he runs or in Kansas City, Missouri, but was doesn't run - you have to act as released Friday. He is "convinced though he is going to run so as not that he will not survive incarcerato preclude that possibility," Mr. that he will not survive incarceration," his lawyer said. Judge Marshall has sentenced Mr. Williams

Ballpoint pen. silver-gilt with coral cap.

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The state of the s

A study last year found that 17 percent of the relocated witnesses had been arrested since they were admitted to the program. To combat that problem, the Justice Department has started psychological fueled over Mexico, officials said, screening and counseling to try to and are blanketing Nicaragna with credit which witnesses may compare the safety and are planketing from the safety

predict which witnesses may com- radar surveillance from the safety mit crimes and need special super- of international waters in the Pacif-

U.S. Labor Assails Proposed Limits On Sanitizing Agent as Inadequate

WASHINGTON — The Occupational Safety and Health Adminisach cancer in humans. The new
proposed limit was immediately
proposed as imadequate by labor New York Times Service

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CONCORD CENTURION The watch created

IO DE A CISSSIC * Concord Watch Company S.A., 63. rue Centrale, CH-2502 Bienne. widely used chemical that has been unions whose members handle the

The agency's action Thursday was in response to a federal appelwas in response to a federal appelWe are not doing anything to
try and overthrow the Nicaraguan dered the safety agency to stop its "moreasonable" delay in requiring stricter protection against exposure to ethylene oxide, which is used in hospitals as a sterilizing agent and — an army of some 25,000 backed by a milina of 50,000, armed with called for a final rule on a new standard within a year of its March 15 decision.

The agency said it planned to begin public hearings July 18 on its ethylene oxide proposal. A spokesman said that the agency expected to produce a final standard "in about a year."

Also Thursday, a citizens' health research group joined six labor mious in petitioning the safety agency to accelerate plans for more stringent protection standards for workers handling benzene, also a

in its draft proposal on etyhiene pal Employees, many of whose using scare tactics to justify a hard-members work in hospitals where line policy toward Managna, and ethylene coude is used, said recent that Nicaragnan officials had said

islation. Its report recommends pacity to pay and refuses, we tell judicial review for cases in which the Justice Department refuses to identify an uncooperative wirness. The creditor," Mr. Safir said, adding that most witnesses comply. Fossil of Ancestral Whale Discovered in Himalayas Los Angeles Times Service

LOS ANGELES - Paleontologists have discovered the 50-million-year-old bones of an ancestral whale in the footbills of the Himalayas, strengthening their belief that whales began as land-based mammals who gradually adapted to life in the sea.

In a report published Friday in the journal Science, a team of scientists said that the fossils are from the long-hypothesized missing link between land animals and whales. They have been dated to the early Eccene epoch, 45-50 million years ago, according to Philip D. Gingerich of the University of Michigan.

At the time, the area where the bones were found was probably under a shallow amount of water, the remnants of the Tethys Sea,

an ocean that stretched from Asia to Europe. "We speculate that ancestral whales initially were land mammals who, feeding on both meat and fish, colonized the seashore, Dr. Gingerich said. "Enticed by an abundance of fish, they then moved offshore and gradually made their homes in the sea."

The most significant part of the fossil is its well-preserved middle ear. "The early Eocene whale still had the ear structure of a land mammal and not a marine mammal," Dr. Gingarich con-Scientists believe that whales split off from other mammals.

They are well adapted for squatic life, but they are typical man-mals. They develop their offspring internally, muse their young

Elisabeth Lutyens, 76, U.K. Composer, Dies

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches and writer, died Friday, official LONDON — Elisabeth Lutyens, sources said. 76, a British composer and a pio-neer in atonal music, died Thurs-

with milk and are warm-blooded.

day at her London home. Miss Lutyens was one of Britain's most prolific composers of the century. Her compositions incinded operatic works, solo music and works for films and radio fea-Answering critics who said that

she was too profific, she said in an interview last year. "They want you to write one masterpiece. I have an 18th-century view. A dog barks, and a composer composes. Miss Lutyens faced family resistance to her choice of career. Her father was the architect Sir Edwin

Latyens.
While composing movie scores for a living, she produced more than 150 works in 12-note techmione that carned her the reputs tion of being the most radical British composer of her generation.

The works included five chamber concerti between 1939 and

and Oriris," and the opera "Time Off? - Not a Ghost of a Chance!" produced at Sadler's Wells in 1972, Miss Lutyens also provided for radio more than 200 musical settings in collaboration with poets such Louis MacNeice and Dylan

Gyula Hlyes BUDAPEST (UPI) - Gynla II- tional Assembly, where he served lyes, 80, a Hungarian essayist, poet as president from 1969 to 1973.

Mr. Illyes achieved international recognition for his accounts of po-litical and social developments in Hungary. He wrote "The People of the Puszta," concerning the life of Hungarian farm workers and a per-sonal account of the hardships and injustices they faced. The book, published in Hungary in 1936, was translated into several languages.

He also wrote on the problems faced by Hungarian minorities liv-ing abroad, particularly in Romania and Czechoslovakia, and be warned that discrimination threatened their culture and language. He formed committees for the defense of Hungarians in Romania and Czechoslovakia.

Achille Peretti PARIS (IHT) -- Achille Peretti,

71, mayor of Nenilly-snr-Seine, a suburb of Paris, died Thursday, ap-parently after a heart attack. He 1946, the 1969 lyric drams "Isis was a member of France's Constitutional Council, the nation's highest civil law court.

Born in Ajaccio, Corsica, Mr. Peretti, a lawyer, set up the Resistance network code-named Ajax during the German occupation of France. In 1944 he went to Algeria to join Charles de Gaulle's provisonal government. After the war, he was elected mayor of Nexilly and a Gaullist deputy to the Na-

WASHINGTON — William D. Ruckelshaus, President Rouald Reagan's choice to take over the Environmental Protection Agency, has told representatives of environmental groups that the president has given him permission to re-examine and make recommendations battled agency's policies.

At a meeting Thursday, his first with environmental leaders since being selected to replace Anne McGill Burford as administrator of the EPA, Mr. Ruckelshans said the credibility of the agency needed to be restored. He added that he intended to ask for the resources needed by the agency to carry out

Ruckelshaus

By Philip Shabecoff

New York Times Service

Meets With

Ecologists

talists reported. However, Mr. Ruckelshans indicated he had received no pledge that his recommendations would be accepted, and he made no spe-

encouraged by his willingness to meet with them and his agreement

cratic senator from Wisconsin and now chairman of the Wilderness Society, said the environmentalists have a high regard for the integrity and competence of Bill Ruckelshaus. But the key question remains: Will the administration support changes of policy and an adequate budget, or will a competent administrator continue to preside over a crippled agency?"

remains to be seen," he said. The president has not yet sent

to 1973, is currently senior vice president of the Weyerhaneser Corp., a large forest products com-pany. Mrs. Burford, along with 12 other senior political appointees at the agency, recently left amid con-gressional investigations of alleged mismanagement of the agency's

Blast at Karachi Mosque

Sunni majority in a Karachi neighborhood, police said.

semblance to ordinary business in

the field of industry and com-

The first essential difference is

that the art market, unlike any other, does not deal in identical

units. No two works of art are alike. The probable value of each is

determined by its relative impor-

tance to others - in terms of acs-

thetic achievement, historical sig-

ble value is inseparable from a

Has it recently been offered on the

market?) and conditions to be en-

sured at the time of the sale (The

more expensive and important the

work, the more sophisticated and

chancy the buildup of potential de-mand). This is why the low and

high estimates produced before

sale by auction-house professionals

vary from 20 percent to 50 percent

making in this business cannot be

separated from expertise. The ex-

pert is not just an academic deliver-

a doctor prescribing a therapy.

remote advice. He is more like

The second major difference is

ception of contemporary art. which

market in which available quanti-

ties can only dwindle through mu-

seum acquisitions or destruction.

Things have reached the point that

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ARTS/LEISURE

The Sotheby Takeover Bid: Is the Power Focus Changing?

By Souren Melikian

International Herald Tribune IF AN illustration were needed of 1 the distance that separates the art market from other fields of the economy, it has been provided by the attempted takeover of Sotheby's in London.

The row that broke out this month between two New York smen and Sotheby's over the attempt reflects opposite ap-proaches, stemming from different realities. When Marshall S. Cogan

THE ART MARKET

and Stephen C. Swid made their \$100-million offer via Knoll International Holdings — whose main units are General Felt Industries and Knoll International, the contemporary furniture manufacturers the most logical and desirable step or a given category and state of in the interests of their own firm as - they did what, to them, seemed well as Sotheby's.

complex of past circumstances (Has the work been publicized? "We are offering three times its book value." Cogan said wryly in a telephone interview. On the other hand, this step appeared "wholly unwelcome" to Sotheby's board. And to make sure that the point went home, Graham Llewellyn, Sotheby's group chief executive, added that no matter what price was offered, Sotheby's was determined to fight off the offer.

Asked about private contacts they might have had with members of the staff. Swid said "none," with unconcealed regret, adding that Gordon Brunton, Sotheby's nonexecutive group chairman, "has issued a threat of expulsion to any member of the company that would accept to talk to us." On the face of it, however, a no-confidence accounts for a negligible propor-tion of transactions — is a closed motion seemed to have been voted a few days earlier when a letter signed by 95 percent of the departmental directors and experts was sent to Cogan and Swid to the effeet that they would not agree to the need to get a sufficient amount for sale has led to a battle between enter negotiations. Should the takeover succeed, they would consider themselves available for employ-

outdo the competition by offering A random check with senior and better catalogs, better exposure of junior members of Sotheby's staff works to be sold through traveling - all requesting not to be identi- exhibitions, or better sale terms, i.e. fied - gave the distinct impression lower fees. In some cases, his may that the letter genuinely reflects a even mean no fees because the lack of sympathy with Cogan and prestige generated by the sale was Swid's attempted takeover.

To the market observer the reac-tion of Sotheby's staff carries much collection for sale too great. Last therefore have the financial muscle greater weight than the board's but not least, auction rooms have to adopt a more aggressive policy.

to the management's failure dem- to accept high reserves, i.e. mini- market as a whole will be disrupmum prices below which the items tive. Christie's, the present archonstrated by Sotheby's financial loss in the 1981-82 season - although the management has undergone a drastic overhaul following this loss and is now essentially in the hands of different people. But the departmental directors and experts are the captains in the field and are confronted with day-to-day realities that, to them, bear little re-

discomfiture.

they will succeed. If so, competition between rival auction houses will intensify, generating higher operating costs. And this, the market can no longer bear. The system is already too expensive in relationship to the sum total of goods it can process, and is in great danger of becoming permanently unprofitable."

acumen as the builder of Sotheby's Hong Kong, its greatest success story over the years - has been running the show since then. A car accident just after Christmas that the art market - with the ex- knocked him out for nearly three months, but he is now back on his feet, literally and metaphorically.

Some, however, and not just those based in London, add that it is true the New York end of the business is not yet displaying all the managerial consistency it could do with

Most believe that a commission war might be triggered in an effort auction houses, each attempting to to develop business by attracting Cogan has let it be known that

besides putting up \$100 million to buy Sotheby's, he and his partner would still be willing to lay out as much as \$20 million to allow considered essential and the lear of Sotheby's "to regain its position of

1982 period, reserves tended too would be under such enormous often to exceed the buyers' willing-ness to pay and works failed to sell sion-makers might be forced to with increasing frequency. All this give in. By lowering commissions led to auction houses spending in turn, they would soon run the more and earning less — hence, risk of drastically reduced profits. among other causes. Sotheby's if not even of being in the red. Any such process would be spread over

Bearing these factors in mind, a period of time, say two to three auction house professionals dread years, which would be more than the consequences that a change of enough to have devastating effects leadership could have. First, they on the auction market and on the point out, the leadership has been trade. If too many of the works changed. So there is no point in ar- that are currently offered to dealguing that Sotheby's has been ers, either directly for sale or on mismanaged. Julian Thompson, commission, should be shunted off the Chinese art expert who had their circuit, some would simply nothing to do with the manage-ment side until the spring of 1982 today's penury market the No. 1

masters no longer alive.

"My guess is that if Cogan and Swid persist

- but had amply demonstrated his problem is to get the goods at a realistic price. The second fear is that Cogan and Swid would be tempted to lay increasing emphasis on New York.

This fear is probably fed by Cogan and Swid's own profession of artis-tic interest. Both insist that they lay no claim to being art experts but simultaneously point out that they are "involved with art." Swid told this writer he collects "the art of the last four decades," while Cogional art of the '30s in America." He owns works by Picasso, Klee,

Léger and Giacometti. Swid is a member of the 20th-Century Art Visiting Committee at the Metropolitan Museum, an outside advisory body on 20th-century art purchases, essentially contemporary art, and of the Director's Advisory Board at the Guggenheim. Cogan for his part chairs the American Council of Arts, based in

art scene is undemiable, but to a is trade. The high concentration of remain unsold. And, as in the 1981- competitor, and now leading. sectors in which auction houses are plus the opportunity of nipping essentially involved — the art of around to seats of artistic treasure, the past, including 20th-century in her field — the Louvre, the Nic.

> Even though Cogan owns some Modern Masters, the emphasis is distinctly on avant-garde, which is only natural. Cogan and Swid's latest business success consisted in changing Knoll International, the contemporary furniture manufacturing company, which they bought in 1977, into a highly profitable concern.

Cogan's answer to a question about his plans should the takeover bid succeed is likely to sharpen their feeling: "The U.K. accounts for 37 percent of Sotheby's worldwide activity. In North America we have a rising income and a rising demography, coupled with the fact that we have a greater proportion of the population becoming interested in art. There has been a precipitous increase in the attachment individuals to museums and institutions." Cogan speaks from personal experience. This is again undoubtedly true, but irrelevant, the other side would point out.

Indeed, this is nothing new. For years, high-powered dealers have conceding privately that about half of the significant works of art past and present, including an even higher proportion of important items, are absorbed by the where the London-Paris axis represents a concentration of artistic interest and competence. Trends, when it comes to buying the arts of the past, start in Europe, not in the this, the market can no longer bear. United States. Moreover, major U.S. buyers prefer to buy in En-expensive in relationship to the rope. Top 18th-century furniture sum total of goods it can process. gan mentioned "20th-century art as from France, for example, is gener- and is in great danger of becoming well as pre-Columbian art and re- ally cheaper in New York anctions. It is mostly bought by European often French - dealers, comes which served as the new frontier. back to Europe and, soon after, sails back to the United States.

The case of one of the most important buyers of French furniture over the last three years illustrates its limits. Too much then fails to the point. A multi-millionairess sell. currently furnishing her Bel Air house in California, she has developed a passion for Louis XV and era is inexorably coming to an end. Louis XVI furniture and, a leading Washington, and sits on the Archi- French dealer adds, a refined taste. have to change, worldwide.

out-of-hand rejection. The latter increasingly given way to pressure I believe that if the commission tectural and Design Committee of She takes the advice of a New York could be seen as an angry reaction from speculation-minded vendors war starts, the effect on the art sim de Camondo Museum Vesailles, the Victoria and Albert, the Wallace Collection, private houses in Paris - make a trip to an Old World auction more inviting any time. Sophisticated Americans who buy art don't just buy blue chips, they go after the whole cultural en-

vironment. To attempt and build up the New York auction base at the expense of London could in the view of many art-market professionals be counterproductive for all con-

When the fear of geographical shifts of power was mention gan replied. "We intend to keep the company legally domiciled in London. The board of directors will be predominantly U.K. We intend to invite representatives of the experts' staff as well as existing Sotheby board members who can contribute to the future of the company.

A third fear of the staff, Cogan volunteered, was that the two busi nessmen would be using the firm's name for commercial purposes. There will be no franchising of the name," he firmly says.

"Ah, now," comes the reply from the other side, "there are other ways . . . " As the New Yorkers U.S. market. But that market is would say, the separate mono-

Swid persist they will succeed. If so, competition between rival anction houses will intensify, generaling higher operating costs. And As it is, the system is already too permanently unprofitable. There used to be untapped categories Everything has now been explored, from biscuit tins to vintage automobiles. The alternative solution pushing prices up — has found

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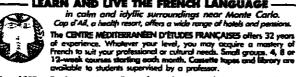
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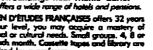


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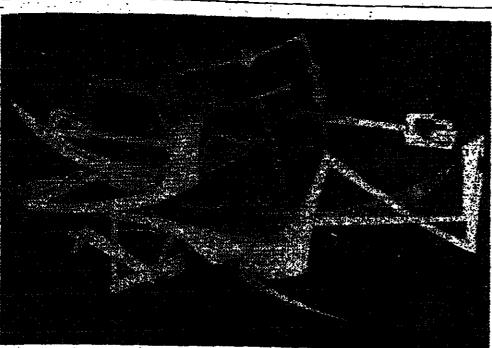
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ARTS/LEISURE

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Wifredo Lam's "L'indésirable," painted in 1962,

Wifredo Lam: Picasso's Chicken

ional Herold Tribune TARIS - Wifredo Lam, a tall,

I shy, brown-skinned young man of Cuban and Chinese pareniage, rang the door of Pablo Picas-so's apartment one atternoon in 1938 with a letter of recommendation from a mutual friend. Picasso received him with warmth, advised him to admire African art, offered whim a glass of calvados (which Lam thanks to Picasso and to Michel would not drink at first, thinking it Leiris, who thus gave recognition was turpentine) and invited him to to an aesthetic form. As for the stay for dinner.

When Lam took his leave Picasso made a remark to the effect that strange, symbiotically linked quasi-Lam reminded him of someone he African spirits, soating and swoophad known. The meeting worked ing in a brown night, and they are on Lam like a detonator and he beon Lam like a detonator and he be-gan painting without pause and without daring to show his work to world that huminated in the folk anyone, least of all to Picasso, who with sensitive discretion refrained world of "culture" naid little attenfrom showing any curiosity about tion at the time. ... Lam's lonely work.

One day, however, Lam took a desperate resolution and arrived at Picasso's flat loaded down with canvases. Picasso was taking a bath and the studio was filled with peo-ple. Picasso had Lam come into the bathroom and started a conversation, but after a moment he sensed Lam's tension and probably ed what it was about. He got out of the bath and draped himself in an enormous towel fike a toga: Lam said that he reminded him of a Roman god, an association all the more plausible since he was

awaiting his divine judgement.

Picasso looked at all the paintngs with an enigmatic smile, then require critical comment. The qualhe laid his arm on Lam's shoulder ity is even and excellent but never and said: "I was never mistaken transcendent. Its success no doubt why, when we first met, I said that you reminded me of another man: pleased to have one of these paint

Wifredo Lam died last year and an exhibition at the Musee d'Art Lille, Paris 7, to April 30. Moderne de la Ville de Paris that was intended to honor his 80th birthday has by his death become a

It is quite clear that Lam was a real pil, inspiration and companion and gifted painter, but he only em-

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REPRESENTATIVE

erged very gradually from the 1900 and her mental balance was shadow of the elder artist. His return to Cuba in 1942, his acceptance of a certain Caribbean climate from 1913 until her death in 1943. and spiritual heritage, including the synthesis of African and European beliefs and practices, as part of his own natural idiom, finally led to a mature art with a depth and intensity of its own

Lam discovered African Lam, then 36, recalled that Picasso ordered a whole large chicking for him, which he devoured, bones and all, "because I had a terific appetite and for quite a while I had not been able to satisfy it."

When I am round it in ins own roots, for instance in the person of Mantonica Wilson, his godmother, an imposing black matron who practiced magic and introduced him to the little spirits who populate the Caribbean night-world. content. Lam found it in his own

Lam's later paintings show these world of "culture" paid little atten-

Lam's life and work is conse quently a very modern adventure because it shows how one man re-solved the question of who he was in a world of unpredictable cultural cross-currents.

Wifredo Lam, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, 11 Avenue du President Wilson, Paris 16,

The Institut Neerlandais is show ing a selection of about 100 paintings by lesser Dutch masters of the 17th century from the Fritz Lugt collection. The exhibition is full of familiar charm and does not really almost anyone would probably be ings in his home.

Institut Néerlandais, 121 Rue de

The Musee Rodin is offering a show entitled "De Carpeaux à Matisse." The title is impressive and The show includes only four promising but the small print says works prior to Lam's encounter with Picasso. They show solid if ture from 1850 to 1914 from the conventional craftsmanship and confirm, if necessary, that the northern France." There are some with Picasso was crucial interesting and familiar pieces by But what Picasso said was also true Rodin, a few works by Camille in another sense than the one he Claudel, sister of the poet and intended. Lam's work bore for dramatist Paul Claudel, whose camany years the deep important of the reer began with astonishing force impressive man in the bath towel. leading her to become Rodin's pu-

Boston's Japanese Works Welcomed in Tokyo

By Christine Chapman leternational Herold Tribune OKYO — Thousands of Japanese have been pouring into the Tokyo National Museum to see some of their own rare art. Called "an outstanding showing" by the Japan Times, the exhibition, "Japanese Paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," includes 80 paintings gathered in Japan 100 years ago and not seen here since

the early Meiji period (1868-1912). Their reappearance in exhibit is the Boston Museum's gesture of appreciation to the Japanese government for its generosity in renovating the galleries that display the art in the United States. Until this donor, William Bigelow, that his art not be moved to other galleries. Fifty of the 80 paintings in the show belong to the Bigelow Collec-

by NTV, the Japanese television network, and the Yomiuri newspaper. NTV presented a program of more than two hours on the art and its history preceding the opening. Newspaper articles have praised the exhibition. The show continues historical or sociological than artistic interest. Matisse is represented by only three works; Carpeaux, on at the Tokyo National Museum in Ueno Park until May 8, and moves on May 17 to the Kyoto National cal and anecdotal interest of the useum, where the paintings will remain until June 26 before returnlooked, but this being said, it's title ing to Boston.

clearly promises too much. Two astute American art-lovers, "De Carpeaux à Matisse," Musée Ernest Fenollosa and William Bi-Rodin, 77 Rue de Varenne, Paris 7,

from 1913 until her death in 1943.

The show also includes a large

amount of "official" art, more of

the other hand, by 24. The histori-

show should no doubt not be over-

Japanese turned their aesthetic eye Japan, pro-Shinto groups were Fenollosa, with Bigelow, a Boston to the West. At that time during Buddhist temples of traditional paintings, scrolls, scriptures Kakuzo Okakura, saved hundreds

Fenollosa-Weld Collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Together again in Japan with the

thought their art inferior to that of and mandalas, because the governthe West. Considering it obsolete. ment had ordered the separation of they ignored it and even sought to temples and shrines that had fordestroy it. As Fenollosa arrived in merly shared the same precincts.

By David Stevens PARIS — The Paris Opéra Bal-

I let meets American modern dance somewhere in mid-Atlantic in the company's new program of contemporary ballets, featuring exhibition the Boston Museum has first performances of new works honored the 1902 stipulation of the done for the Paris company by Alvin Alley and Andrew de Groat. Perhaps the meeting place is a bit closer to Paris than to New York, not just because the dancers

weid paintings.

By the end of the first two weeks of the exhibition, which opened March 15, 91,500 visitors had seen the show which is being sponsored by NTV. the Visitors had seen to have taken into account in their staging and their staging an écipice" to Jim Morrison, the American rock musician and singer whose self-destructive life ended in Paris several years ago and who is buried in Père Lachaise cemetery.

The dance traces the life and downfall of an unnamed pop star in a series of flamboyant images set to eclectic fusion music by Pat Metheny and Lyle Mays and taped by their group.

Although not choreographically from Alley's top drawer, it was a brilliant, highly polished spectacle—it would not have been out of gelow, began to collect the paint- place in a Roland Petit season — of Glen Tetley's "Voluntaries," mgs in Japan 100 years ago, as the strongly aided by the expressionist continues April 16, 19, 20 and 22.

Moderns at the Opéra backdrops and colorful costumes of Carol Vollet Garner and splendidly effective lighting of Chenault young American traveled through-Spence. Patrick Dupond sparkled as the golden boy surrounded by dope peddlers, groupies, impresar-ios and miscellaneous layabouts, and Monique Loudières radiated

> De Groat's "Nouvelle Lune" has different French accent, with choreography of sophisticated wit appointed commissioner of fine in a series of solos and duets for arts for the Japanese empire. He is Willride Piollet and Jean Guizerix, two of the Opéra's dancers with Japanese art for Japan," according clear affinities to a modern dance to poet Yone Noguchi, who so-invocabulary. The choreographer scribed a bust of the American. (who was also the designer) opened the vast stage back to the fover de la danse and shaped it with lighting and with rising and falling fabric "clouds." In this imaginary land- art lover: "I have bought a number ten with an ironic nod in the direc-

tion of classical style. They made a charming series of matched sets to eight of Debussy's Etudes, splendidly played on stage by Georges Pludermacher.

The program, including a revival

of works of art from destruction or indifference.

in 1878, when he was 25, the Harvard-educated Fenollosa came to Japan to lecture in political philosophy at the University of Tokyo. There, many foreigners, including Fenoliosa's friend Lascadio Hearn, were teaching Japanese students the ideas of the West. During university holidays the

out the country buying valuable forgotten pieces. He learned that no public art museums existed and little was written in English on Japanese art. He also discovered that tawdry flamboyance as the symbolthe Meiji government did not even know what art treasures there were ic queen of the drugs. It was a re-sounding hit with the Opéra pubin the country. Fenoliosa docu-mented what he found. In 1882 the government asked him to do this work full-time, and in 1884 he was credited as "the very discoverer of

Fenollosa was not entirely unselfish. According to a Japan Times article, in 1884 he wrote to his Boston friend Edward Morse, another scape, the dancers went through a of the very greatest treasures series of rapidly shifting, turning, secretly. The Japanese as yet do accelerating moves and poses, of not know I have them. I wish I forever in the Boston Art Muse

> While the government was formulating a law to restrict the export of ancient art, Fenollosa sold his collection of more than 1,000 paintings to Dr. Weld of Boston.

Bigelow group, the paintings pro-vide an array of Japanese art from religious naintings of the 12th-century Heian period to genre pictures of beautiful courtesans and tipsy picnickers of the 19th-century Edo and Meiji periods.

Even the familiar mannered style of the ukiyo-e art in the final rooms becomes fresh again in this imagi-

native exhibition. The exhibition shows the wit as well as the reverence of the Japanese artists, as one walks from portraits of gods and saints to admired animals to scenes of ordinary people. One screen, done in sumi, or black ink, depicts a "Hero Facing a



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Poles Won't Let Go

The Polish government could lock up Lech him or do worse without tempting troubles Walesa again, of course, or arrange to have harsher than those it cannot solve now. him run down by a truck, or whatever. But then what? General Jaruzelski must calculate the consequences in terms of the disruption of public order, the loss of any residual claim to the toleration and especially to the willingness to work of the Polish people, and the further deterioration of the country's international standing. It is on all those things that Poland's hope for recovery rests.

The government insists that he is a "private person," but Mr. Walesa remains the most important public person in Poland. It is not simply that journalists focus on an attractive and accessible symbol of Polish striving. He is the authentic leader of a mass movement, Solidarity, which, although banned, lives in people's hearts. The regime cannot effectively govern without dealing with him in some way.

True, it can harass him. The other day police dragged him out of his apartment for five hours. The nightmarish scene was witnessed by Washington Post correspondent Bradley Graham, who happened to be there interviewing Mrs. Walesa, who was herself hauled in the following day. But the regime cannot hold

The regime's tormented efforts to relax without relaxing are of a sort familiar to students of Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe. Mr. Walesa, however, is inventing a new political style. His purpose is to build a position would force the government to grant relief to political prisoners and to reintroduce elements of a pluralistic workers' movement. Without Solidarity's former liberties, his tools are his pivotal place in the Polish scheme of things, his personal ingenuity — he eluded his police tails last weekend, for instance, and met Solidarity's fugitive underground leaders and his access to the international press.

Mr. Walesa and the government are looking ahead to the scheduled visit of Pope John Paul II in June. Gen. Jaruzelski's desire to demonstrate that the regime has made some definite progress since the darkest martial law days gives Mr. Walesa and others, including Cardinal Glemp, the opportunity to bargain for more. It is a painfully uncertain process, but there is one certain thing about it: Mr. Walesa and the Polish people are not going to let go.

-THE WASHINGTON POST.

Brazil Deserves Help

The riots in Brazil's largest city are at least as important as other Western Hemisphere conflicts. Brazil is not a domino, it's half a continent. Its stability has been shaken by three years of economic decline, crushing foreign debts and an inflation rate of 10 percent a month. All this coincides with tense effort to

move from dictatorship to democracy.

The rioting in São Paulo is an early warning of what can go wrong when austerity is im-posed on an already hard-pressed population. At least 770,000 of the 8 million Paulistas are out of work. The Economist magazine reckons that 25 to 30 million Brazilians, of a total 130

million, are underemployed.

In moving toward full elective rule, São Paulo chose a moderate opposition leader, Franco Montoro, as state governor last fall. But imagine his standing as he imposed new hardships to satisfy foreign lenders. To meet conditions set by the International Monetary Fund, Brazil has to slow down economic activity by 2 to 4 percent more.

Brazil's plight cannot be blamed only on imprudent loans and investments. It has been triply beset: by soaring oil prices, by the leap in interest rates and by the global downturn in trade. Rekindling its economy calls for more than conventional IMF medicine, however necessary in the short run.

Some valuable ideas have been offered by William D. Rogers, citing the need for new global arrangements that spread out debt re-payments so that austerity measures do not everywhere coincide. He has urged better coordination between IMF and private lending

and a new study of exchange rates.

Meanwhile, if the Reagan administration reads the warnings correctly it will give a compelling nudge to Congress to expand the IMF's lending resources. It should also help Brazil to borrow for longer periods at lower rates, persuading commercial banks that the giant country remains a bright promise and sound long-term risk.

-THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Opinion

Brzezinski on Europeans

Discussing the acute problems between Washington and its NATO allies, [Zbigniew] Brzezinski points out that this is a perennial problem, not one peculiar to the Reagan administration. But he diagnoses a deeper malaise between Western Europe and the United States today. To the postwar genera-tion America was a "political model," even though Europeans remained true to their own culture. Now the situation is reversed. The younger generation in Europe is "culturally ized" (take, for example, Petra Kelly educated in Berkeley); and yet, "politically, it is de-Americanized." It no longer sees America as a political model.

- Hella Pick in The Guardian (London).

The Races After Chicago

The phenomenal outpouring of black voters which laid the base for Harold Washington's election as mayor of Chicago is a historic milestone on the road to a full black voice in American public life. It gives blacks hope that even in the most racially polarized cities they can combine their own solid vote with enough white support to seize victory. The momentum of Mr. Washington's win may help blacks eking other key mayoralties, starting with Wilson Goode's Democratic primary contest against former Mayor Frank Rizzo next month in Philadelphia. And the Chicago returns seem conclusive proof that some of the fervor of the civil rights movement of the sixties has been rekindled after a decade in which black voter turnout deteriorated by an average of 20 percent in northern and western states.

— Syndicated columnist Neal R. Peirce.

The best analysis of Harold Washington's dramatic mayoral victory in Chicago came from an elderly black woman interviewed at Mr. Washington's campaign party early Tuesday evening. She was certain he would win, she said, because "there aren't enough white people who hate us enough to turn this Democratic city over to the Republicans." Mr. Washington defeated Republican Ber-

nard Epton with 52 percent of the vote. He carried virtually 100 percent of the black vote, two-thirds of the Hispanic vote and a critical

ing are suppressed in the Corean newspapers,

but the facts are admitted. Japanese around

the capital have resumed aggressive methods

against the ill-armed natives, with results

somewhat resembling massacres.

20 percent of the white vote. An election with that kind of split — 99 percent of the blacks voting for one candidate, 80 percent of the whites voting for the other — is certainly a case of extreme racial polarization.

Political scientists distinguish between ethnic and racist voting. When 78 percent of Catholics voted for John Kennedy in 1960, their support was not widely regarded as anti-Protestant. Blacks claimed the same legitimacy for their support of Mr. Wast

Most whites did not see it that way. There is no question about the racist nature of Mr. Epton's campaign or his support. His campaign slogan — "Epton now, before it's too late" — exploited white fear of a black takeover.

The hysteria of the white response can hardly be accounted for by concern over Mr. Washington's past financial indiscretions, or by the charismatic appeal of an obscure, ineffectual Jewish liberal. Racism is the reason why Mr. Epton won almost five times as many votes as the previous Republican candidate in a Chicago mayoralty election.

So far, Mr. Washington has pledged to pursue a policy of racial conciliation.

- William Schneider, the Los Angeles Times.

Literacy Is Basically Culture

E.D. Hirsch Jr. has spent the past dozen years of his life "pursuing technical research in the teaching of reading and writing" as a way of halting the decline in literacy in America. It was a wasted 12 years, the University of Virginia English professor now believes. The problem wasn't what he thought it was. The decline in literacy, he has concluded, is the result of the decline in the commonly shared knowledge acquired in school. The problem, in short, is not mechanical but cultural

In earlier, more literate times, America had what amounted to a "national core curricufor teaching English. Students everywhere were expected to have read David Copperfield, The Merchant of Venice, Paradise Lost, Silas Marner and other "classics." Just as you can't get far in learning to read and write French without learning something of French culture, he says, American children cannot get far in English without learning

something of the American national culture. - Syndicated columnist William Raspberry.

FROM OUR APRIL 16 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO 1933: Little Beer for Athletes

1908: Japanese Fight Uprising

SHANGHAI - Reliable reports reveal appalling conditions in Corea. The movement against the Japanese is general, involving sanguinary reprisals. Practically the whole country has risen against Japanese rule, which barely extends outside of Seoul and the main coast ports. Parties a few miles inland are constantly being cut off. Even the gates of Scoul are now guarded by strong forces, while Coreans are not allowed to cross the river after six o'clock in the evening. Details of the fight-

NEW YORK - The return of legalized beer apparently will be accepted "in stride" by the world of sports, based on the conviction that the spectators can "take it" but that the athletes, with a few exceptions, must leave it alone. Some major league ball parks and most golf or athletic clubs plan to sell the brew un-der certain restrictions, but colleges have no plans whatever to relax regulations against drinking of any kind. Training rules for college athletes will not be revised to permit a daily ration of beer or ale on the so-called dish plan, although a survey revealed some willingness to permit an "occasional glass" if an athlete needs it or if he knows how not to overindules.

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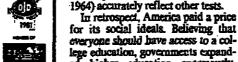
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The Charter Bars Use or Threat of Force

WASHINGTON — The debates on nuclear weapons, the Middle East, Central America and other disagreements are proceeding these days without even the slightest mention of international agreements that the various

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nations have already signed.

This mouth brings the 38th anniversary of the drafting in San Francisco of the UN Charter, of which Article 2, paragraph 4 states: "All mem-bers shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

Moscow now wants another declaration of nonaggression, and so do many leaders of the churches in the free world. But Article 2 (4) of



riage, and ignored almost as often. Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Lebanon, Israel and the Falklands are only a few of many names to remind us of the growing threat or use of force in defiance of this fundamental treaty commitment.

That is not all. While the United States and the Soviet Union are now quarreling over the development of the MX missile and the emplacement of U.S. missiles to counter the threat of Soviet intermediate-range missiles targeted on every capital of Western Europe, there is another treaty that both have signed and apparently forgotten. That is the treaty "on the nonproli-feration of nuclear weapons." They agreed that it was all right for them to have such weapons but not for other nations to have them. But there was one important condition.

To justify this unequal proposition, they committed themselves "to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disammament us strict and effective international control."

This was signed in Washington on July 1, 1968, since which date the nuclear arms race has proceeded at an even faster pace, particularly in Moscow. It has spread in Britain, France, India and China, where it was observed that the major nuclear powers were not keeping their promises.

It is hard to know how many new and more powerful nuclear missiles, with their independently targeted multiple warheads, have been produced since 1968 - or even how many have come on line every month since the "disarma-

ment" talks started in Geneva. Both sides proclaim that they are negotiating "in good faith," but they are hardening their minds as well as their siles, and asking for "faith" in their good intentions, which they also proclaimed when they signed the UN charter and the nonproliferation treaty.

Eugene Rostow, who was recently fired as head of the Reagan administration's Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, took a parting shot at this conflict between missiles and princi-ples. "Unless we confront these facts," he told the Russians and others at the United Nations. "and restore general and reciprocal respect for the principles of Article 2 (4) of the Charter, the

slide toward anarchy will engulf us all ...
"Until we take effective steps to see to it that
the Charter, the arms control treaties and the legally binding decisions of the Security Council

By James Reston

are obeyed; until we can verify and assure com-pliance with their terms, much of what passes for arms control will be a sterile exercise at best and often, alas, no more than a charade." What then is to be done? It is not much use to

tell the Russians that they are violating the Charter by the use of force in Afghanistan, or that the United States is using indirect force and the threat of force in Central America.

But at least they have an obligation to face the fact that they are in violation of their past treary commitments while they go on quarreling about new treaties that nobody is likely to believe in

until they redeem the commitments of the past.

When it is suggested that the leaders of the five "permanent members" of the UN Security

Council should get together, the response is usually, "What would they talk about?"

Well, as President Reagan is always saying, they might talk about their past promises and treaty commitments, one on one — or come be-fore the members of the United Nations and explain why they ignore the Charter they signed. They won't do it, of course. But it is not such

a bad idea — maybe every 38 years — when you consider all the other bad ideas floating around. The New York Times.

Employing the United Nations

UNITED NATIONS—Although multilateral diplomacy is the main feature of tions, one of the organization's greatest assets lies in its being a place where bilateral diplomacy can be carried out quietly, far from the glare of publicity.

Each September, when the that Israel has many friends in General Assembly meets, the Third World, and commer-

and ministers of foreign affairs tions with many nations, and economic cooperation con- Among the 157 UN members, gregate in New York. Their appearance before the assembly is the highlight of their visit, al-though more than half their time is taken up in consultation survivor of the Holocaust, the with politicians and officials from other countries.

In some cases these meetings would be otherwise impossible. as the member states involved might not have diplomatic rela- the most efficient army in the tions. Information is ex- world serving national expanchanged, acquaintance is made, mediations are attempted and decisions are taken leading to peaceful settlements.

In spite of this, the United Nations has been severely criti-cized by many Americans as many Third World nations see ticular. There is clearly a need for an improvement in the relationship between the United States and the United Nations.

representatives of the Third World.

One constant cause of American irritation is the UN's atti- and Latin America. tude on Israel and Palestinian The United States should rerights, and its insistence on ne- alize that the effort to create a Liberation Organization. The nomic order can bring positive United Nations is unlikely to gain in the long run, since the move from this position, and key concept — interdepen-

negotiations at the United Na- this accounts for the extraordinary impasse over Security Council resolutions regarding the Israel-Lebanon conflict.

scores of heads of government cial, if not political, connecperceptions are bound to vary. The West and some of the midgreatest evil perpetrated in this century. Newer nations - and, after the Lebanon conflict, some of the older ones - see Israel instead as a country with

> sionist tendencies. Still, any resolution to re-move Israel from the United Nations would certainly fail. Israel is the creation of the

being worthless in general and it as a small country like themhostile to U.S. interests in par-selves entitled to exist in peace. Newer nations, hardened to It will require a greater will- the Palestinian people, call for ingness on the part of the a new international economic American people and press to order. The latter, as a global isunderstand the views held by sue, has underscored differences in perception between the

United States and many develcountries of Asia, Africa

tiations with the Palestine more just and equitable eco-

dence — is mutually profitable.

A fair distribution of the world's wealth would result in economic stability and prosper-ity for all, instead of only for a nervous, favored few in the United States and Western Europe - areas blessed by geography, environment and history that have provided an abundance of natural resources, a strong industrial base and freedom from the debilitating influences of tropical disease

overpopulation and poverty.
U.S. disapproval of other nations' viewpoints has recently been extended also to its allies. The broad base of disagree ment includes the severity of action to be taken against the Soviet Union over the Polish crisis, the recognition of leftist regimes in Central America, the nature and degree of disen in Europe and the mainte-

nance of high interest rates. Does the United States want sincere friends who have different perspectives at times, or in multilateral cooperation in the quest for global stability?

dor of Sierra Leone, is a UN untive director of the UN Institute for Training and Research. This comment, representing an individual viewpoint, was obtained by the Los Angeles Times.

fawning and uncritical admirers who add nothing to the pro-fessed U.S. goal of leadership

Precisely because of its multilateralism, the United Na-tions is the one forum in which all the world's governments can seek resolution of their disputes, if given support. It must be strong support, if world peace is to be achieved.

> the occupied territories within the next few years. Dispersal and, it was hoped, destruction of the PLO so as to make that easier was a major obiective of the invasion. King Hussein well understands the implications and it explains his an-

tention to im

ger with Mr. Arafat now. He has said that it will soon be too late to preserve any part of Palestine for Arabs and that his own kingdom of Jordan will be eroded next. But he refuses the risk of accepting peace talks without PLO endorsem So the Reagan plan may not be

It Appears

Peace Is

Unwanted

By Flora Lewis

DARIS - The murder of the

breakdown of Jordanian-PLO talks

are two aspects of a central fact, it was put crisply by the Paris-based International Jewish Peace Union in a

Palestinian peace camps, as there are no separate Israeli or Palestinian war camps," it said. "Those on both sides who want exernal war are allied in

their extremism, and the assassins if their pay serve Abu Nidal as well as

Menathem Begin."
Dr. Sarrawi would have subscribed

to that. He was passionately pro-Palestinian but he was not anni-Israeli.

He had known for years that that

fact made him a target for Arab en-tremists, and at times it caused fric-tion between him and Yasser Arafat.

He tried hard to persuade Mr. Ara-

fat to defy the extremists and recog-nize Israel openly. He was enough of a realist to understand that what Mr.

Arafat calls his precious "trump card" to be traded for substantial

Israeli concessions has lost all its value in that context.

All that could be gained now by

even one-sided recognition, Dr. Sar-tawi understood, was the more limit-

ed goal of open U.S. relations with the PLO. But Mr. Arafat still cannot

bring himself to make that move. It probably would split off some fac-tions of his querulous organization.

His refusal to make that decision

his intricate use of a moderate like

Dr. Sartawi to represent him on cer-tain occasions and of veteran terror-

ists like Abu Iyad on others, provokes the question of his priorities. Does he want a settlement and the

best that might be achieved for self-rule, or does he want to perpetuate a

movement that brought him emi-

nence and vast financial backing?

A high official of one Moslem

country, who swore retribution if he

were ever named in this connection,

told me flatly that he was convinced

Mr. Arafat's prime goal was just to keep the PLO going Mr. Arafat's parley with Jordan's King Hussein

must be seen in that light.

The king believed Mr. Arafat could make the necessary decision to

respond to the Reagan initiative if he

chose. But once again Mr. Arafat has backed away, preferring to appear only shakily in command of his

movement and accepting the fact that this gives the Israeli government a breathing spell, which it is moving rapidly to exploit.

Jerusalem has announced an inten-

sive campaign to lure 20,000 more Is-

raelis to settle on the West Bank with

housing credits and other induce-

ments. Even before the invasion of

Lebanon, it made no secret of its in-

olami 100.000 settlers u

statement mounting Dr. Sartawi:

PLO's Issam Sarrawi and the

stone dead, but diplomacy has been effectively paralyzed by the combination of Israeli intransigence and Arab timidity. It is nearly a year since the invasion of Lebanon and there hasn't even been any progress toward withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian forces; promised for last Christmas, Candor requires admission that there are no prospects of movement toward any Middle East settlement, and what is going on is an intricate minuet to save political face on all sides.

Meanwhile, the facts of the Middle East continue to change. Jews from Arab lands now outnumber those of European origin in Israel, and they are strong supporters of Mr. Begin's expansionism. David K. Shipler of the New York Times has shown in a perceptive series of reports how profoundly they are reshaping Israeli society and Zionist ideals.

In one startlingly revealing insight, he quotes a Sephardic resident of Beit Shemesh who told an Ashkenazi Israeli writer, "If they return the ter-ritories, the Arabs will no longer turn up for work, and right away you'll make us once more the unskilled, workers we used to be. Even only be cause of that, we won't let you return, the terntories."

Dr. Sartawi based his hopes on Isracli doves, whose importance hugely overestimated, and on what he called "the deep moral values of israel." He launched a lot of dia; logues and brought the PLO the state ile satisfaction of enhanced respective bility in Europe, but nothing more.
The "peace camp" is very fraid There is precious little that U.S. 67.

plomacy can do about it. The ude if running with the prophets of doom.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Napalm in Asia

Regarding "Thais Say Hanoi Saeks sources for themselves.

Direct Confrontation" (IHT, April 6):

J. and P. FI William Branigan writes that the recent That napalm raids on Vict-

mark the first time that napalm has been used in combat in Southeast Asia since the Vietnam war."

Not so. Many of us believe the ubstantial indirect evidence since 1975 that Indonesian troops have forceful annexation of the former was to help them. pay the bill even at the cost of elimi-nating some sports programs or other regime has prevented independent

investigators from verifying the circ

namese troops were believed to Just Helping Out

cumstantial evidence from many J. and P. FLANAGAN.

Regarding "U.S. Aides Query Co-vert Operations" (IHT, April 8): Are your headline writers being in tentionally droll when they sub-title this front-page article. Some Feat used napalm in their efforts to sub. Aid to Nicaragua Rebels is Seen as ingate the East Timorese people. We Plot to Topple Sandinists"? Here we say "indirect" because, since its all were, thinking that the intention

P. McNEILL Fribourg, Switzerland.

Heavy Spending on Education Hasn't Paid Off WASHINGTON — The report card is beginning to be writ-By Robert J. Samuelson courses. Roughly 59 percent of graduating seniors in the late 1970s took And they subsidized it. Two-thirds of To recite these figures is not to describe the American school system as drivers' education, compared with

ten on one of the great experiments of the past 40 years: America's national binge on education. And the results are disheartening.

Recent experience reveals a puzzling and disturbing development. The more that education spending has risen, the more students' test results have declined.

We are perhaps beginning to appreciate that education as an abstract ideal is not a cure for every national problem. Without an underlying sense of seriousness and purpose, schooling has little to do with either genuine education or employability.

Education is advanced as an answer to the ailments of the day. In the 1960s more education was supposed to reduce poverty and bring about equal opportunity. Today it is supposed to restore technological competitiveness and, in the guise of retraining," ease memployment.

If there is a moral in recent experience it is that more schooling cannot simply be applied as a salve to social and economic ills. What matters more than money in realizing educa-tion's potential are underlying motivations and expectations — of students, teachers and parents.

Even in retrospect, increases in educational spending have been staggering. Between 1950 and 1975, total spending on schools rose from 3.4 to 8 percent of GNP. Although this partly reflected the effect of the giant baby-boom generation, much of it stemmed from a general increase in the level of schooling.

College attendance exploded, from 2.7 million in 1950 to about 12 million today. For every 100 students who enter lifth grade, about three-fourths now graduate from high school and almost half attend college. In the early 1950s those proportions were half and less than a third.

Federal and state assistance has increased dramatically at all levels. In the 1970s alone, real spending (adjusted for inflation) on public elementary and secondary schools rose 29 percent. Since the late 1950s, student-teacher ratios at the same schools have dropped 40 percent.

These improvements make test score declines as surprising as they are disappointing. Results on the College Board scholastic aptitude tests (down 9 percent in mathematics and 6 percent in verbal skills since 1964) accurately reflect other tests. În retrospect, America paid a price for its social ideals. Believing that

higher education enormously.

the costs of public colleges are paid today from government funds. Schooling is like anything else. When the price is lowered, people buy more. Also, its value shrinks. To keep classrooms filled - and to qualify for government payments based on enrollments — public colleges and universities reduced entrance stan-

influenced high schools. "Once students discovered they didn't need academic courses" to meet entrance requirements, they didn't take them, said Scott Thomson, former superintendent of the Ev-

dards. And those changes inevitably

WASHINGTON - American

Student performance is lower than in 1957 at the time of Sputnik, when so-

There should be a return to the

ideal of a truly liberal education

based on the three Rs, which result in

the ability to read intelligently, think

precisely, speak fluently and write clearly. Mandatory academic courses

must be given priority over electives.

ized performance exams throughout

the student's school years should be

established. The Scholastic Aptitude

tests, toward the end of high school,

come too late to do much good.

Teachers should be paid more, but

Secondary schools are trying to do

too many things for too many consti-tuencies. The result has been a de-

cline in time and resources devoted

to teaching and learning. By choosing easy, "relevant" and entertaining

courses, students exhibit a long-term

is illustrated by the fact that all

four major users of high school grad-nates — business, industry, colleges,

the military - must conduct remedi-

al courses in mathematics and English. The military spends some \$60

percent of enrolled college freshmen

Inadequacies are increasingly obvi-

ous, especially in technical and scien-

tific areas. The United States simply

does not educate its youths so they

require remedial work.

million a year in developing basic herently undemocratic in excellence; reading skills. Between 25 and 40 indeed, poor education is an insidi-

Just how bad things have become

decline in academic performance.

only in return for high standards.

A nationwide system of standard-

called reforms were initiated.

society is poorly educated.

percent among graduating seniors, and psychology's popularity from 2 to 24 percent. The proportion of students on an cademic* track declined from 48 to 36 percent, while the proportion of those on a "general" track rose from 12 to 42 percent. The remaining students were on a vocational track.

less than 1 percent in the 1960s, ac-

cording to Clifford Adelman of the

National Institute of Education. So-

ciology's popularity jumped from 7

Mr. Adelman said of the "general"

anston, Illinois, high school district.

Electives proliferated, and students drifted toward less demanding conglomeration of courses. They're track: "It's the wasteland of the American high school. It's a confused

By Hyman G. Rickover

can perform effectively in modern, technologically demanding jobs. We can lay some of the blame on

teachers. Their overall quality is low.

At colleges where they are trained

they are among the very lowest in

quality as measured by Graduate

Record Examination aptitude test

aged 497 and 531, respectively.

Even excellent teachers are forced

to spend too much time on nonteach-

ing tasks and on discipline. Merit pay increases reward teachers mainly for

things unrelated to or unmeasured by

their intellectual performance or that

of their students. In one large metro-

politan suburb, merit pay is being

absent on Mondays or Fridays.

considered for teachers who are not

Parents must assume personal re-

sponsibility for educating their chil-

dren, instead of passing the buck to

"educational experts."

School boards, administrators and

principals must become less political-

ly manipulable and timed when there

are gramitous charges of elitism or

ethnocentrism. There is nothing in-

ous cause of a permanent underclass

The public must demand excellence in education and be willing to

of unemployable proletarians.

scores. Between 1977 and 1980, prospective teachers averaged 440 in verbal and 467 in quantitative test scores, while all GRE takers averwatered down — a lot of personal service and remedial stuff."

universal mediocrity. Averages being what they are, the statistics disguise enormous diversity. Increased spending has had some beneficial effects. Test scores of poor and minority students have improved. But, given the magnitude, the return on the nation's recent massive investment in education has been modest. Quality has suffered, and waste has resulted. About half of the

students who attend college don't graduate. Either they don't want or can't handle higher education. No education is complete without understanding that true learning is always a struggle.

Education: Back to the Three Rs?

for their education, that there is no easy way to excellence.
From experience, I am not optimistic about the future of America's educational system. But we must keep trying. To do otherwise is to ensure a tragic future.

nonacademic programs. And of course students must be convinced that ultimately they are responsible

The writer, who until January 1982 was the Navy's chief nuclear officer, will head a foundation that bears his name and will be concerned with education. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

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TRILATERALISM

A SPECIAL REPORT



Japan: Breaking Down The Global Barriers

TOKYO — The trilateral concept has affected Japan's international policies, largely by creating a more "cordial" atmosphere for discussions, according to Nobuhiko Ushiba, a former Japanese minister and the Trilateral Commission's Japanese deputy chairman. Following are edited excerpts of an interview with Ken Ishi.

ISHII: What is the Japanese view of the concept of Trilateralism? USHIBA: This is a question which is now very much discussed among the Japanese leaders: What kind of relevance Trilateralism has in this world. Because in 1973, when the commission was started, the world was

businesspeople to continue to im-

port oil from Iran. That was very badly taken up by the American press, for instance. But through the

context of trilateral countries, we

have come to the recognition that

this is much more a security prob-

lationship we had by that time es-

tablished between ourselves and

Q.: And what is the overall im-

pact 10 years later of Trilateralism

in Japan, both domestically and in foreign relations?

for instance. In the United States,

starting from President Carter or [Zbigniew] Brzezinski and other

people, there are quite a few people

who have been in the American

government, you see, President Carter and others. But in Japan

only two or three members of the

Trilateral Commission have be-

come at one time or another minis-

Q.: In what areas of internation-

al interest has Trilateralism most

affected Japan, if at all?

A.: Oh, I think certainly in the

international aspects of our policy,

mostly for economics, for security

matters - but more strongly the

economic matters. And we have

talked through that with the Unit-

(Continued on Page 11S)

A.: Well, domestically I cannot

rather quiet and prosperous, but now suddenly the economy has de moves on the part of the Japanese teriorated and the questions of se-curity and defense have been much more important; so in view of this hanged situation, [the question is] whether Trilateralism is relevant. I think even with the change in con-dition, Trilateralism is still a very important factor in politics, belem than an economic problem;
cause, take the example of the retherefore we stopped importing oil cession we are now in: I think over-from Iran. That was to a very great coming this recession will be only extent influenced by the cordial repossible by close cooperation between ... the United States, Europe tablished between ourselves and Japan. Also, in the matter of the United States and Europe. defense. I think we should seek socurity more in global terms, so I anyway coo these three parts [of the world] is

very important.
Q.: What was initially most insay that the influence is very strong ...compared to the United States, teresting for the Japanese in the Trilateralism concent — in other words, what did the Japanese hope

A.: Well, basically, ... the more cordial and deep relations with Europe, that is what the Japanese wanted to have, and the impor-tance) of this kind of relationship became quite clear when the oil crisis broke out, and a big controversy among the three partners concerning the oil exports from Iran when Iranians took prisoner the American Embassy people in Tehran. At the time, of course, the United States wanted to subject Iran to sanctions and the Europeans more or less cooperated, but Japan at first was not very willing to cooperate because we thought that — some Japanese thought — that the some Japanese thought — that the oil question is only an economic question, not a security question, for instance. Also we have talked

you see.
Therefore there were certain

The Trilateral Commission: Who and Why

By Charles Heck

NEW YORK — The Trilateral Commission was launched in July 1973 after a year or so of discussion and cons

Several principal ideas may be seen in the formation of this unofficial policy-oriented discussion group, joining the three core democratic industrialized regions of the world: North America, Western Europe and Japan. First and most immediately, the early 1970s were a time of considerable friction among the governments of the three-regions. Those forming the commission hoped it could help move the policy debates in our countries in a more cooperative direction.

Second, underlying more immediate friction, there was a sense that the troubles of the early 1970s were not just temporary difficulties, that the whole postwar international system was changing in fundamental ways, that active joint thoughts needed to be given to the "renovated international system" that the changing situation would require. Perhaps two dimensions of change were central. One was that the United States was no longer in such a singularly dominant position, no longer able to provide so much of the leadership needed in the wider system. A more organized form of leadership -- "milateral"-

for the coming era. Another dimension of systemic change was the rise of "global interdependence" issues to central importance alongside more classical aspects of international politics. Some modicum of progressive cooperation among the trilateral regions — the three main centers of

Another key aspect of the new commission was its emphasis on Japan as a full and equal partner of North America and Western Europe. Most North Americans and West Europeans were not accustomed to thinking of Japan in this manner in the early 1970s; nor, for that matter, were many Japanese. The key place of Japan in the "trilateral" notion was intended to indicate a needed evolution in attitudes about Japan in North America and Western Europe; and a corresponding evolu-tion of attitudes in Japan itself — where, as the country became such a large fish in the international pond, it needed to think about is responsibilities in a wider framework.

The commission now has a little over 300 members, distinguished citizens drawn from a variety of sectors and political affiliations. The variety is crucial, as the emphasis on cooperation among the industrial democracies cannot become the province of a particular political party or sector of society. The membership does not include sitting national government ministers; and the members who are elected or appointed to such high-level national policy-making positions resign from the commission. The intention is to emphasize the unofficial character of the commission and the extent to which members are free to speak for themselves in examining

problems addressed within the commission. The main event of the commission year is the three-day plenary meeting, which rotates the Trilateral Commission.

the world economy — seemed vital to the founders in successfully addressing these global issues and building a wider framework of cooperation with the Third and Fourth worlds.

Another key expect of the new companions. of the commission. This year, there is a draft report dealing with defense and arms control issues and another focused on North-South

> Aside from the annual plenary and a mmber of other, smaller-scale meetings, the prin-cipal aspects of the commission's program are its task force projects and its quarterly Trialogue. Task force reports to the commis sion are each prepared by a team of at least three authors, one from each region, who work and meet together over the course of a year or more to prepare a report that is dis-cussed in the commission in draft form and then completed for publication and dissemination. The reports are the responsibility of their authors, not of the commission - too diverse and multifaceted a group to achieve the sort of consensus that can develop in a three-author team.

> Twenty-five task force reports have been completed to date, on a wide range of policy concerns. Trialogue devotes one issue each year to the plenary meeting, and the others to current problems facing our countries and the world. The format — with individual articles and interviews, from persons inside and outside the trilateral regions - is more wide open and less consensus-oriented than the format of the standard task force project.

The writer is the North American director of

have responded that the commission is a pri-

vate body that does not make policy, and

that the membership includes both liberals

and conservatives from different sectors whose interests and views are not necessarily

Leonard Silk, writing in his book "The

American Establishment" on the record of

the Trilateral Commission during the Carter Administration, observed, "International monetary policy remained uncoordinated. U.S. energy policy floundered. The Western

Europeans were crossed up by the decision to

cancel the neutron bomb. Arms sales pro-

ceeded apace. Congress slashed the size of contributions to the International Monetary

Fund. In brief, the trilateral program was in

shreds. Many wondered whether the adminis-

tration had any foreign policy at all. Some

the same.

Owen, who at one time was the head of the Policy Planning Council in the Department of State. What is the continuing Parallel to my own discussion with Owen on that subject, David Rockefeller started toying with the idea of doing something to relevance of the trilateral concept? And here I would

ameliorate the deteriorating American-Japanese and American-European relationships. The two of us happened to have attended a conference at the same time, and each of us, quite independently of the other, surfaced that idea and we were quite struck by how similar our ideas were. And on the way back from the conference - which was in Europe — to America, we talked about it, and we decided to

ated than the purely bilateral ...

brought together the political and was it still an influential book?

Was it still an influential book?

Was it still an influential book?

Was it still an influential book? estern Europe and the United peo States, in a common effort to look could play the role which you originally at the problems facing our nally wanted to play — of influthree parts of the world, but more ence from the outside? generally facing the world as a A.: First of all, those who en-whole ... This is the unique aspect tered the government were re-of the Trilateral Commission: that it brings together these people who powerful group ... So, to speak in otherwise wouldn't get together terms of the influence quotient, the Now that we exist, I think it is a commission remained an influenfairly obvious idea. But when we tial, or at least prestigious, body.

or whatever. Q: When you thought about it in these early stages with Owen, did you see it merely as a talk shop, an annual conference, or did you that the Atlantic Alliance was too

calling it the Commission on Peace and Cooperation or something like that. And I was the one who came was guided by the very deliberate desire to give it as official sounding a name as possible — so as to und-erline the fact that it had a political purpose. And that political purpose, which I wanted to be subliminally communicated by an official sounding name, was to shape poli-cy by influence. Since we did not was influence. But it was meant to be a voiley of people, not to just meet and talk, but also to generate

Q.: Now, some of your critics have said, maybe maliciously, that it was a vehicle for Zbigniew Brzezinski to become national security adviser in the next Democratic administration. And I suppose the every text of this central organizing idea. idence behind that is that when indeed Jimmy Carter became president, there were 19 members of the Trilateral Commission who held people to anticipate problems, to senior positions, including your-

A.: Well, that wasn't said maliciously; that was said enviously, by people who in that respect saw in this effort a tremendously successfal coup for the commission as a whole or for me personally. Alas, in life, we are rarely blessed with such strategic foresight. When I thought of the commission, when I first discussed it with David Rockefeller, when I became attracted by the idea of giving it substance and

Brzezinski On Trilateralism And Government

NEW YORK -- Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Jimmy Carter's na-tional security adviser, was one of the founding members of the Trilateral Commission. In an interview with Jonathan Power, he pointed out that one of the important roles of the Trilateralism concept was to involve Japan in discussions with Europe and North America that went beyond previous, bilateral talks. Following are edited excerpts of the

POWER: Where did you get the concept of the Trilateral Commis-

BRZEZINSKI: It developed rather spontaneously in the course of some discussions that I had with a very close friend of mine, Henry

give it a try.

was at a time in the early 70s, would lead where it did — namely, when the American-Japanese relationship was very bad, the Ameriand its relatively obscure Georgia can-European relationship was de-teriorating, and there was no rela-of the commission, and then that tionship to speak of between Japan of course, leading to the White and Europe, and just spent a year house. in Japan, and, on my own, I Q.: I was going to talk about reached the conclusion that as Ja- how it looked once you were in pan enters the world, a wider government, and yet the organizaframework for Japan has to be cre- tion had to continue. Once the 19

didn't exist and the idea was first But in terms of what its actual broached, it did strike some people

wield power, the only alternative some consensus on behalf of desir-

able goals or policies.

meat, by serving as its first direc-

say this ... There is no doubt that Trilateralism is a reality. Even the word trilateral is now used as a common term for the definition of the relationship." You must remember that this tor, I never had a thought that this

were in place and the Carter ad-Q.: What was so special about ministration came to power and, in what you were thinking of at that a sense, the best blood of the Trilateral Commission on the American A.: Something very simple and side had entered government, how very important. It was to be, and it then, from the perspective of govbecame, the only institution which ernment, did the commission look?

influence was, I do have to say, its as disturbing, maybe impractical, influence was derived from the fact that it really had a hard core of ideactually have a much more narrow a framework for America's thought-through idea in your global involvement; that there was mind? A.: In my mind — and I can teractive type — that is to say, of only speak for myself — I've always seen the commission as an action-oriented and policy-influence world role if they focused on the ing organization.

In fact, when the question of what it should be called came up, I think at one of our organizing meetings, I think David Rockefeler or somebody had the notion of and that all of that required the deliberate forestimes of a course of a cour

That I think was actually a very up with the notion of the Trilateral innety idea ... I think that was the Commission. And as I explained at genius of the commission. At the the meeting this captured the estime of the Nixon shocks [Mr. sence of the idea — that it was tributed lateral ... Particularly in the case of the name. Trilateral Commission, I States on Japan in the early 1970s. States on Japan in the early 1970s] and [Henry] Kissinger scolding En-rope and proclaiming the patronizing year of Europe, the commission came forward with a notion of a more generally cooperative rela-tionship with these three regions. And that was a generally good

liberate fostering of a sense of co-

ODETATION.

And when we assumed office, we, the former members of the commission, to the extent that we could, tried to implement that. So in that sense the commission was both successful in its purpose and somewhat diminished in the centrality of its message. Because its message was now coopted by the U.S. government. But it doesn't mean therefore that its utility was finished. Because within the conwhich was now accepted officially, there was still the need for a lot of forward thinking, for a group of think about them seriously, to try to make recommendations within the framework of this new orthodoxy to keep the policy-makers on. their toes, so that the orthodoxy doesn't simply become a cant, but it's actually implemented on a steady sustained basis.

Q.: A criticism made during the Carter administration - admittedty, it's a criticism that has had louder tones during the Reagan administration — is that the Atlantic is actually becoming wider. Also, (Continued on Following Page)

A Range of Conspiracy Theories

THE Trilateral Commission has been the subject of a wide range of criticism Whether from the left or the right, the criti-

cism has had the common theme that a group-seen as an elite is seeking to manipulate poli-cy around the world — that it is a conspiracy. Criticism from the American right has tended to attack the commission for a perceived international bias" that does not further the best interests of the United States. This criticism was particularly sharp when Jimmy Carter, a commission member, was elected president in 1976 and brought 19 members of the commission into the government, including his national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski.

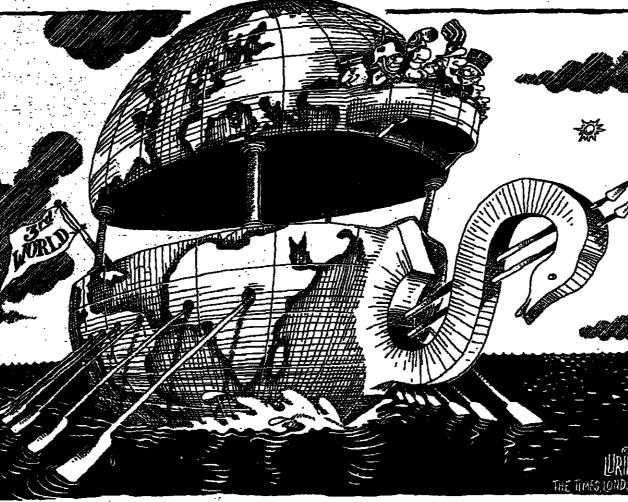
When George Bush was running for president, one of his problems was to shake off

Laurence Shoup, a leftist critic, described the commission in his book "The Carter Presidency and Beyond" as wielding power on behalf of "the only one-half of 1 percent of the population that owns 22 percent of all personally held wealth."

Defenders of the commission generally

ship in the commission. "The same people who gave you limmy Carter now want to give you George Bush," said one advertisement during the primary election campaign in Florida.

Criticism from the left has tended to focus on the business and political ties of the membership — seeing the commission as pushing the goals of multinational firms to the detriment of the citizens of the various countries. The commission also has been criticized for ignoring the Third World.



"AFTER ALL, WE'RE ALL IN THE SAME BOAT."

The Coming Out of America By Robert G. Kaiser

WASHINGTON — Trilater— It would be easy enough to dismiss Trilateralism as an insignifing the American vocabulary. A tiny icant plaything of a sliver of the recognize the term, but most peo-ple on this side of the Atlantic if the Trilsteral Commission and would not. The only notoriety won the notions it has fostered did not by the Trilateral Commission in themselves make a great impres-America was among Rockefeller sion on the United States, they did-conspiracy buffs, a fringe group of play a measurable role in what for crazies who find the heirs of John Europeans and Japanese must be D. Rockefeller hirking behind every displeasing aspect of American life, and who interpreted David- coming out of America. Rockefeller's influence in the commission as a sign of intrigue and

slice of American society would. American establishment. But that one of the most important developments in American history: the Foreigners may appreciate better

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Security: Building Confidence Among the Western Partners

By Gerard C. Smith

WASHINGTON — Defense and arms control issues are now controversial in the trilateral re-Nuclear weapons matters are being re-examined by governments and private groups, as are the size and increasing importance of non-nuclear military forces. In Japan, where interest in defense and arms control issues in recent years has not been great, growing attention is being paid to self-defense and to security matters in general.

The security of the three regions cannot be compartmentalized; it is indivisible. There is indeed a community of security interest.

As security issues become more pressing and as the dangers are realized to be common to the three regions, the need for a strengthened consensus about security measures becomes urgent. As one Japanese security measures becomes urgan. As one Japanese statesman put it, the Afghanistan aggression was "the first global issue on which the effectiveness of the alliance relationship among the industrialized democracies in the political security field is being tested." Trilateral approaches to solving security problems offer the best promise of success.

A revitalized world economy is indispensable for the long-term security of the countries of the trilateral regions. It is no less important than deterrent and defense efforts.

In the 1950s and the 1960s, the separate alliances between North America and Europe and Japan may have sufficed, but the system now needs strengthe ing. Can a trilateral perspective be developed not only as to force postures and strategy, but also as to arms limitation measures and moves to advance economic security? The Japanese concept of "comprehensive national security" embraces not only military and arms control measures, but economic, psychological and political moves.

The arrival of nuclear parity between the superpowers, foreshadowed for several decades and likely to persist indefinitely, recalls Robert Oppenheimer's graesome metaphor describing the superpowers as two scorpions in a bottle. If they could articulate threats to sting each other, their credibility would not be great. Nature should tell them that their poison had best be reserved for one single purpose: to deter each from trying to kill the other. In coming years, I believe our military and political leaders will realize that this limited, although essential, purpose is all that one can rely on nuclear weapons for. Such realization will result in changes in present defense measures.

Farsighted military officers for years have recognized the coming nuclear parity and called for reduced reliance on nuclear weapons to do our military business and for increased dependence on non-nuclear forces. The Supreme Allied Commander, General Rogers, recently proposed that reliance on the nuclear threat to deter possible Soviet aggression against Western Europe could be substantially reduced, and the onus placed on the Soviet Union for any initiation of nuclear war. He estimated the cost to be 1 percent a year above present agreed NATO comminment for a period of six years. Nuclear weapons would still be deployed to deter the ultimate danger, a Soviet nuclear attack. The supreme allied commander must calculate that his proposal would reduce the risk of any war, nuclear or non-nuclear.

President Ronald Reagan's "vision" of anti-ballistic missile systems to eliminate dependence on the nuclear retaliatory threat seems irrelevant to today's problems. It may provide nourishment for his supporters and tend to pacify critics, but its very uncertain promise and certain astronomical cost suggest that it should be "handled with care." Mr. Reagan said, "I clearly recognize that defensive systems have limitations and raise certain problems and ambiguities. If paired with offensive systems, they can be viewed as lostering an aggressive policy, and no one wants that." But how could such a development be avoided?

Instead of diverting resources and treasure to a quixotic defensive effort that most informed scientists consider unrealistic for our times - and that, if ever successful, would terminate the most important arms control agreement, the anti-ballistic missile treaty of 1972 — more concentration should be given to the possibilities of further agreed restraints on all arms. Arms controls are essential for improved relations with the Soviet Union and a condition precedent to any solid progress on halting the proliferation of nu-

While efforts continue to limit land-based intermediate-range missiles in Europe, at least some of the proposed NATO missiles should be deployed. Some kind of interim agreement may be in the cards and should be pursued. But for the longer term, continu-ing negotiations about theater nuclear forces should be folded into START and a single agreement reached to limit and then reduce all longer range nuclear

As it is realized that the nuclear threat can no long er be credible as a deterrent to aggression limited to conventional forces, the trilateral nations will have no military choice but to improve their non-nuclear force res. That will prove less difficult than presently feared. It is hoped that France will participate more fully in efforts to strengthen Europe's conventional

Under such conditions, the case for maintaining strong, if not stronger, U.S. forces overseas will be compelling. Japan's allies will expect that country to supply improved self-defense at a cost somewhat high-er than the present ceiling of 1 percent of gross do-mestic product. The United States will necessarily carry the greatest burden of supporting the security needs of pro-Western countries in the Middle East and Gulf regions. If the United States proceeds in consultation with its allies and pursues with determination a balanced Arab-Israeli settlement, it will deserve more vocal support from the other trilateral countries than they have hitherto given.

The new conditions call urgently for some rationalization of the production of armaments among the trilateral nations to ensure that they incorporate the most advanced technology, with development and production shared between a number of countries.

As the decades pass, new generations tend to forget the importance of existing alliance ties that guarantee their safety, and parochial interests are included, which weaken these alliances. It is fashionable to speak of measures to build up confidence between the Communist nations and the industrial democracies. but we should also be thinking of confidence-building measures for the Allies.

It is commonplace to hear calls for better inter-Allied consultation. It cannot be said too often that Allied Consultation. It cannot be said 600 often that cannot be sa should be expanded to include defense and arms control issues of common interest. By this means, the trilateral unity, which is in itself an important element of

get. And there is some irony in this. is that probably the differences you actually perceive the Trilateral now that the commission is more
than 10 years old, what's next? lateral unity, which is in itself an important element of our security, can be nourished and translated into ac-

The writer, a former head of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, was the chief U.S. negotiator of SALT-1. He is a member of the Trilateral Commis-

TRILATERALISM

Rescuing the International System: The Art of Compromise

By J. Robert Schaetzel

WASHINGTON — A dissonant Western world W agrees on at least one thing: Something is seriously wrong with the international system. Albert Bressand of the French Institute for Foreign Relations notes, "...the network of institutions, norms and 'regimes' designed to provide the essential political framework for an integrated world economy, a sine qua non for its survival, is indeed gradually disintegrating.

Floating exchange rates arrived on the financial scene to acclaim, only now to be attacked as a form of monetary anarchy. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is largely ignored or damned for its inadequacies; yet a "super-GATT" is proposed. Charges against NATO range from its failure to assume any role regarding crises outside treaty borders, as in the Middle East, to the failure of many member-states to carry their fair share of the defense burden. The European Community, more sommo-lent or paralyzed than active, is stalked by the threat of dissolution, as during the crisis over exchange rates in

The litary of complaints among the trilateral countries includes reiterated demands that there be more effective consultation. This insistence seems incongruous given the lifestyle of contemporary politicians — incessant travel, visits and return visits, calendars crammed with international meetings. Perpetual motion is manifestly no key to

What has gone wrong, what has happened to the hopes and plans of those who built the institutions during that inventive period immediately after World War II?

Conditioned by the excesses and disastrous results of 19th- and 20th-century nationalism, a generation of postwar leaders postulated a future ordered by institutions nistering enforceable rules. These dreams faded for

Along with the audacity of these enlightened politicians went caution. The bold contracts contained fine print: the UN Security Council veto; the fact that NATO decisions had to be consistent with constitutional processes. The Community treaties transferred real national authority to the new institutions, later to be undermined by the De Gaulle-imposed Laxembourg compromise. The latent force of nationalism, especially among ministers and their pureaucracies, had been seriously underestimated.

Beyond the precamionary reservations and sheer novelty, this putative system has had to cope with a surfeit of intractable problems: an uncontrolled nuclear arms race; expectations of limitless economic growth on the one hand, pessimism that any economic system can be made to work, on the other, the plight of the poor nations to whom all doors to progress seem to be closed.

This situation is compounded by a basic contradiction.
Interdependence describes one result of the traumatic pace of world change. An effective financial system cannot be divorced from rising levels of public and private not be divorced from the stagnant economies of the developing debt, or from the stagnant economies of the developing nations, or from protectionism's effect on internation trade, or assuredly from the indispensableness, and indivisibility, of Western security.

Even the most superficial analysis leads to the conclusion that stability, growth and security can be attained only through systematic collaboration among Western Europe, Japan and the United States. The essence of this contradiction is the failure to use, or the misuse of, the postwar system, including its institutional base. No serious effort has been made to exploit the latent assets of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; the member governments make use of the European Community only when all possible alternatives have been exhausted.

To cope with change, live with interdependence or, for the logician, to resolve the contradiction, one remedy is invariably advanced: closer, more effective consultation. Only "detente" can match this word for imprecision. If consultation is to be other than an exercise in diplomatic cynicism, it must amount to more than a loose exchange of views, generally after the fact — as in President Ronald Reagan's revelation of a nuclear strategy for the 21st century based on high-technology defense.

For many Americans, Senator Taft's personal dream of

Fortress America has not died. His acolytes hide their isolationism behind assurances of devotion to cooperative endeavors. The United States and France excel at this game. Washington swears commitment to the international financial system, but balks at serious study of ways to reduce the costly volatility of exchange rates. Double vi-sion of the French permits formal membership in NATO but nonparticipation in its crucial unlitary structure. France remains a beneficiary of the security provided by the Alliance while insisting on an innate right to absolute independence.

Renovation of the system is theoretically possible. The basic ingredients are there: institutions, machinery, even the habit of communication. The missing element is the failure to understand that a viable system, one capable of coping with a disorderly and dangerous world, must be invested with an element central to any working democratic society: compromise. Compromise involves acceptance of the fact that solutions to problems will be imperfect, generally messy, with no contending group fully satisfied. Recent U.S. Congressional action to save the Social Security system was a model of this process.

We are surrounded by wreckage caused by failure to admit this truth. Convinced that it knew the problem and admit this truth. Convinced that it knew the problem and the answer, the Reagan administration set out to dictate show the Soviet pipeline should be handled. That mindless confrontation — indeed the entire range of disagreements related to the West's economic relations with the Soviet Union — sprang from an inability to see the necessity for democratic compromise. The U.S. administration's position could be right, but no tenable order is possible if any of the partners insist that there are subjects on which no economise is possible. compromise is possible.

Democratic compromise has levels of difficulty. Areas of choice exist where political leaders have considerable latitude, East-West relations for example. But where domestic social and economic policies are concerned, the field of maneuver can be severely restricted. Yet, if political leadership has any meaning, it carries the responsibility to educate the public that modification of short-term stic interests can be indispensable to the goal of national security. Applying the principle of democratic com-promise to problems farthest from domestic nerve centers can condition public opinion and make possible, if not easier, other compromises with regard to those most sensi-

The economic summit meetings have become exercises in delusion - in how to fool not only the patient with placebos, but the doctor as well. The participants at the Versailles summit meeting failed utterly to confront squarely their profound disagreements. This foreclosed in advance any chance of working toward democratic compromise. The same play will be rerun soon in Williams

In a recent article in the Economist, Helmut Schmidt laid out a mature vision of the world, emphasizing that "it has never been more necessary to make sure that economic policies complement each other and are internationally compatible. Never has cooperation been as necessary as today." But enlightened calls for cooperation will be as empty for the international system as they have been for the Community without reading into cooperation the will to compromise. The United States must be the leader in this effort. Memories of military and economic preemi-nence die hard. It takes a special effort for the United States to make the concessions essential to preserve and strengthen the system, the concessions that are fundamental to effective leadership.

The writer is a former U.S. ambassador to the European Community, and a member of the Trilateral Commission.

An Interview With Brzezinski: Trilateralism and Government

address it in a satisfactory way.

question: What is a satisfactory There is no doubt that there is to- look at the commission member- common term for the definition of ces of trilateral decisions, in terms way? I would concede to you that day in Japan, and also in North ship, it's more diversified now, the relationship, some differences between us, the America, a recognition that we Some of us have come back to ac-

(Continued from Preceding Page) Europeans and the Japanese have have to consider our policies more, tive participation in it, some have there is no doubt that we have arrangements, how do we know the tion?

become more intense in the course we have to discuss issues more, and not. I have - in part because of helped to shape a relationship beneed, and even though you were in called Nixon shocks... If the Unitgovernment, you weren't able to

ed States had persisted in the trial so many of you were allied the trilateral concept? And here I sion, which are still needed, but postures without any ameliorating with that particular administra- would say this ... There is no doubt now meetings with some key coun-

Most important of all is that and so forth.

sider not only meetings among the that Trilateralism is a reality. Even tries or regions which are particu-A.: Well, of course, that begs the situation wouldn't be far graver? A.: No. For one thing, if you the word trilateral is now used as a larly susceptible to the consequenof their own policies, well-being



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Versailles, 1982: From left: Martens of Belgium, Suzuki of Japan, Thatcher of Britain, Reagan of the U.S., Mitterrand of France, Schmidt of West Germany, Trudeau of Canada, Spadoliui of Italy and Thorn of Luxembourg.

Western Summits: Putting the Problems of the Industrial World in Their Place

By Henry Owen

WASHINGTON — When the Trilateral Commission came into being 10 years ago, it represented a break with the then conventional thinking about postwar relations among the industrial nations.

That thinking centered around two concepts: A partnership of equals between a uniting Europe and the United States, as emmocated by President John

 A close economic and security alliance between Japan and the United States.

The proposal for a commission that would bring together private citizens from the three main industrial areas to discuss these areas' common problems suggested that in-creasingly, the focus should henceforth be on relations among Japan, the European Community and the United States - rather than on the two subsets of bilateral relations between the United States and other industrial re-

This purpose has been fulfilled to a considerable degree. While security relations among the industrial nations remain largely centered on the U.S.-Japanese and U.S.ances, their economic and other relations are increasingly dominated by the concept of trilateralism. This is reflected not only in a wide variety of governmental conferences that bring together representatives of the three main industrial regions. Meetings of the Trilateral as George Shultz and Nobuhiko Ushiba (the latter having

Some of the credit for increasing public acceptance of Trilateralism goes to the skill and perseverance of the commission's founders. The first three regional chairmen - Takeshi Watanabe, Max Kohnstamn and Gerard Smith - and the commission's first director, Zbigniew Brzezinski, played an important innovative role, as did their successors, including Georges Berthoin, David Rockefeller and George Franklin. The commission not only brought leading Japanese into constructive dialogue with Europeans, as well as Americans, it also produced serious trilateral studies of common problems of the in-

The main reason for the success of Trilateralism, however, is that it ran with the grain of history. Annual economic summit meetings of heads of government of Japan, North America and the four main countries of the European Community began two years after the formation of the Trilateral Commission. The recognition that major economic needs could only be met by common action of the three main industrial regions, which had led to the treation of the commission, also led Helmut Schmidt and the private sector to a generally accepted feature of particles.

dustrial nations.

venture that the heads of government turned to such men meetings in the governmental field.

The 1975 Rambonillet economic summit meeting was a success. It produced an agreement that eased the shift to agree on concrete actions at economic summit meetfrom fixed to floating foreign exchange rates. Since then, annual economic summit meetings have given an important political impulse to the Kennedy Round Trade Negotiations in 1977 and 1978, brought agreement on the need to basten the development of oil substitutes in 1979 and Trilateral Commission meeting in Rome may help to pave 1980, and set goals for increasing multilateral economic aid in each of these four years.

The greatest achievement of the summit meetings was probably the 1978 Bonn agreement concerning U.S. de-control of oil prices, in return for European and Japanese trade and growth decisions desired by the United States. It is at least uncertain whether this politically difficult but essential action to reduce U.S. demand for oil could have been achieved except within the framework of a summit

The success of these economic summit meetings transformed trilateralism from a conceptual breakthrough in Valery Giscard d'Estaing to propose a 1975 meeting of policy. While other trilateral arrangements multiplied, the heads of government from these regions. It is testimony to the importance and novelty of the mission in the private sector, and the economic summit

The purposes of these two institutions have been mum-

Commission, such as the one in Rome in April 1983, are no longer as unusual as was once the case.

Some of the continuous for increasing public acceptance of approval on trilateral Commission) in planning this first summit meeting, which put the scal of political approval on trilateral Commission in planning this first summit meeting, which put the scal of political approval on trilateral Commission meetings is to produce a better understanding of common problems among influential private citizens. This, in turn,

But these national policies have not proved adequate to makes it easier for leaders of the three industrial regions

ings.
In this sense, the formation of the Trilateral Commisthe way for a successful economic summit meeting at Wil-

liamsburg in May.

But the process also works in reverse. While trilateralism has come a long way since the Trilateral Commission was founded, it faces growing problems. Economic growth is stalled in the major industrial nations, unemployment is at record levels, pressures for protectionist and nationalist economic policies are increasing. In the face of these problems, the most recent economic summit meetings at Ottowa in 1981 and at Versailles in 1982 produced little of substance. Rifts among the European Community, the United States and Japan are widening.

The reasons are not hard to find. Governments at summit meetings in the early 1980s were more concerned with ism, whether in Rome or at Williamsburg, justifying national policies and ideologies (whether socialist or conservative) than with finding common ground for international action, which might after or constrain these a former U.S. ambassador-at-large, and a former special tions would meet the economic problems it was elected to

But these national policies have not proved adequate to the need. Economic recession has deepened. The voters have recently made clear their displeasure in some countries. Changes in policy are being made or considered as a result: greater austerity in France, and efforts to reduce outyear deficits in the United States, for example. These changes may make international cooperation easier to achieve, by reducing the gap between the national eco-nomic policies of the industrial countries.

So the Williamsburg summit meeting takes place in a time of transition. In this fact lies hope for progress. Recognition that common action is needed to meet common problems may be easier to achieve in this changing envi-

Jean Monnet used to say that there are two kinds of meetings: those that place people on opposite sides of the table, with the problem in between them, and those that place all the people on one side of the table and the problem on the other side. In the choice between these two methods lies the key to the success or failure of trilateral-

The writer, a senior fellow of The Brookings Institution, is policies. Each government thought that its national ac-representative of the president for economic summits. He is a

Investing in the Future of Democracy in an Increasingly Complex World

By Michel Crozier

PARIS — The Trilateral Commission report on the crisis of democracies was discussed in Kyoto in May 1975. This report had been written by a panel of social scientists: Prof. Samuel P. Huntington for North Ameri-ca, Prof. Joji Watanuki for Japan and myself for Europe. it was a think piece, that is, a document to be discus and not an agenda for action. Yet it produced shock waves of a sort.

Some in Continental Europe, especially the Germans, denied there was a crisis; Anglo-Saxon pundits, on the other hand, attacked us because, for them, even talking about a crisis meant we were advocating the restriction of democracy. The radical left in the United States, and gradually in Europe, seized on the opportunity to de-nounce what they called the international conspiracy of flie ruling elites who allegedly wished to defeat the prossive forces in their own countries as well as in the

It culminated in the winter of 1977-1978 when the French Communist Party engineered a complex plot to discredit Raymond Barre, the French prime minister at the time who was a former member of the Trilateral Commission. They claimed that he was being used by the com-

When re-reading this short and dispassionate report seven years later, it is difficult to imagine why it incurred such strong and sometimes hysterical reactions. Especially since subsequent events, after the report's publication, generally appear to have borne out our warnings! Yet the problems are still with us, and discussion is more crucial than ever. It is high time that intellectuals and responsible elites in the Western world and Japan seriously discuss

the bureaucratic maze of reality; third, that indecisiveness, which is endemic in governmental configurations is the direct result of our economic and social achieveunder pressure, was contaminating the electoral politics. ments. More complexity allows more freedom to those And that the erratic movements of the latter tended to who participate; on the other hand more freedom brings alienate citizens. In order to find the answer to the problems posed by these issues, the emerging basic dile of complex democratic societies had to be understood.

plexity is a fact of modern democratic life because it is the result of the increasing sophistication of science and techresult of the increasing sophistication of science and technology and the related interdependence of people, profes-and secrecy and hierarchy was the other side of the coin. sions, trades, regions and countries.

Complexity increases problems of governments while capacity to govern has substantially weakened. Why? If one goes beyond simple anecdotal explanations, there is to be seen throughout Western societies a strong and ir-repressible demand for more individual freedom of auvanced democracies were more and more paralyzed by a growing overload of pressures and commitments; secondly, that the vagaries of the communication system and the rhetoric of electoral campaigns led to an increasing gap between the eerie world of political discourse and the bureaucratic maze of reality: third that independent of this trend is the pride of the Western world. It has brought us many blessings. But if we wish to continue to meet this demand successfully, we ought to understand its nature and consequences and be willing to pay the heavy price required. The kinds of freedom of choice we now the bureaucratic maze of reality: third that independent of the Western world. It has brought us many blessings. But if we wish to continue to meet this demand successfully, we ought to understand its nature and consequences and be willing to pay the heavy price required. The kinds of freedom of choice we now the bureaucratic maze of reality: third that independent of the western world. It has brought us many blessings. But if we wish to continue to meet this demand successfully, we ought to understand its nature and consequences and be willing to pay the heavy price required. The kinds of freedom of choice we now the bureaucratic maze of reality: third that independent of the western world. It has brought us many blessings. But if we wish to continue to meet this demand successfully, we ought to understand its nature and consequences and be willing to pay the heavy price required.

And this is the plight of governments throughout the Western world. Not that it is impossible per se to govern There was no point in arbitrarily accusing governments, complex systems. But our present forms and processes of mission to conspire against French independence. political parties, trade unions and bureaucracies. Com- government have become inadequate to the tasks at hand.

and secrecy and hierarchy was the other side of the coin. And while subtlety and skill have increased, hierarchy, distance and secrecy have vanished; thus governments cannot count on any lead time against undue publicity.

In order to develop new forms of government that can not only handle technical complexity but, even more importantly, deal with open systems in which people can enjoy a greater degree of freedom while allowing for the problems posed by instant communication, we must undergo basic changes that can be as momentous as those of the Founding Fathers of our modern democracies.

We should have no fear about the results. It will lead to more democracy and more human care. But we must rec- parative endeavor. And Japan, North America and Westognize the importance of the task and the necessity of nendous investment. Neither mere cosmetics nor simple rhetoric - in the form of a set of neat answers in response to the questions posed by decentralization, selftagement, socialism or the return to a free market sys-

New concepts of social and political rationality are needed, as well as improved understanding of the operations of complex social systems. It is sad to discover that Organisations in Paris.

stead of increased. Indeed the tremendous capacities of enthusiasm and innovation of youth to prospect these new areas of knowledge have lam fallow. If only half the budgets wastefully spent on public relations campaigns were invested in a better understanding of social regulations and government, and there was a greater investment to encourage innovative experiments to develop effective democratic forms to handle conflicts and contradictions,

What would the role of Trilateralism be with these oals in mind? Trilateralism is certainly not the answer. But there are few better paths to knowledge than comern Europe present the most extraordinary array of experience from which we can learn to the benefit of all. The building of the 18th-century democracies could never have succeeded without the constant exchange and stimplation between Europe and North America. Rejuvenation in our time requires a new spirit of flux and exchange.

The writer is the director of the Centre de Sociologie des

Face the facts.

NMB Bank's key figures as at December 31, 1982 (in millions of Dutch guilders - 1 US\$ = Dfl. 2.62):

Balance sheet total Dfl. **59,550** Dfl. 57,116 Total deposits Dfl. 37,884 Debtors

Total shareholders' equity and subordinated loans

Dfl. **2,307**

Some highlights from our 1982 Annual Report (55th financial year):

 The combined balance sheet total increased in 1982 by 7% to more than Dfl. 59 billion. • Debtors increased by 7% to more than

Dfl. 37 billion from Dfl. 35 billion at the end of 1981. This increase is largely attributable to the growth of our foreign loan portfolio.

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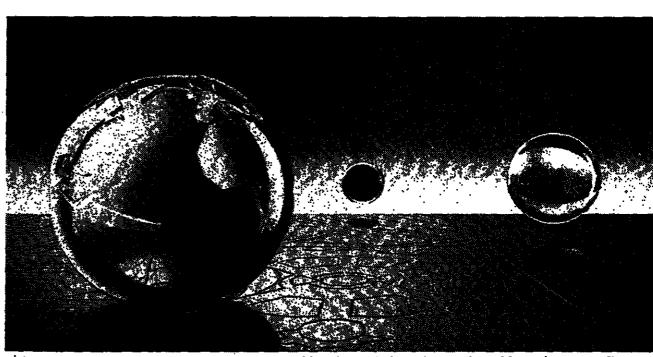
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TRILATERALISM

Europe: Coping With the Shock Of Japan's New Economic Strength

By Rene Foch

DARIS - For many years after I the war, Europe, comfortably ensconced in the Atlantic alliance. lived under U.S. protection, while Japan was doing likewise under a constitution imposed by Douglas MacArthur and a peace treaty drafted by John Foster Dulles.

Then Japan's new economic strength began to make inroads in the U.S. market. European documents at that time explained smugly that Europe was protected by the distance. When Japanese exports, sometimes diverted from the U.S. market by so-called voluntary gusped in feigned surprise as they saw their deficit with Japan grow tenfold in 10 years.

them to develop a common trade The shock was all the more violent in that Japanese exports, concentrated on some well-chosen sectors, did not aim at acquiring market share but at eliminating whole industrial branches in Europe, like the motorcycle or camera industries. So, in a sense, the first impact of Trilateralism was the irruption of Japanese economic power in the weil-trodden field of European-U.S. relations, sometimes acrimonious but at least familiar.

The shock was cultural as well. For more than a century, since the Meiji era. Japan had imitated European or U.S. models. Suddenly, Europeans discovered the virtues. or rither the threat, of Japanese methods, and one began to talk in Europe about the Japanese model, adding immediately that sociologi-cal differences made its adaptation to Europe impossible.

In fact cultural barriers prevent Europeans from recognizing that Trilateral Farm. some Japanese concepts are close is something closer to European ideas than the ease with which

European artichoke, leaf by leaf, rope.)

their domestic market to a German industry strengthened by Japanese

plodge to limit sales of video tape recorders, cars, machine-tools, hi-fi vereignues. equipment, motorcycles and quartz Thus the Europeans repeated vis-a-vis Tokyo the experience they had already had in their bilateral relationship with Washington or in

vided they fall. The pressures of

their trilateral partners compel

policy, as provided for, incidentally, in the Common Market treaty. The shock was all the more violent in that Japanese exports, concentrated on some wellchosen sectors, did not aim at acquiring market share but at eliminating whole

A minimum of unity among Europeans is a prerequisite if they want to be, as George Orwell might have put it, as equal as the others in the

industrial branches in

Europe.

The consequence of this limited to their own: The security of jobs but growing unity is not so much in big Japanese firms, for instance. protectionism as new forms of cooperation, direct investments and technological joint ventures. These American industrialists hire and methods used for many years by fire their workers. Japanese notions U.S. firms in Europe are now inof quality control are not all that creasingly practiced by Japanese different from traditional German firms as an alternative to direct craftsmanship, and the close part-sales. (One may mention the joint nership between the civil service ventures between Nissan and Alfa and industry is not foreign to Romeo, or Honda and British Leyland, or the contribution of Japa- oil prices that makes it possible for At first, reactions in Europe nese technology in the recent economic recovery to take place such meetings are not intended to were purely national and complete- Thomson-Telefunken deal. Japa- without creating the conditions for ly ineffective, allowing Japanese nese firms will be more and more a third oil shock. exporters to pluck, so to speak, the part of the industrial picture in Eu-

nese cars. First, they lost some of policies of its partners in the area their traditional export markets to the Japanese, and then shares of stance, or in the essential field of North-South relationships.

The truth of the matter is that competition. Something else had to the economies of the trilateral be tried. Finally, last February, the countries are by now so interlocked Europeans, negotiating on a Com-munity-wide basis, obtained from The problem is to reconcile this the new Japanese government a growing economic interdependance with traditional national so-

A first step was taken in 1960 when the Organization for European reconomic Cooperation was transformed into the current Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development with the agreements, began to flood Eurothe General Agreement on Tariffs membership of the United States
pean markets as well. Europeans and Trade: united they stand diand Canada, and in 1964, with the membership of Japan, But never have governments used this machinery as vigorously as they should have.

> At the initiative of President Valery Giscard d'Estaing of France, a first meeting of the leaders of industrialized democracies was held in Rambouillet in 1975. It was a businesslike affair, but since then the public relations side of these summit meetings seems to have taken precedence over serious discussions

nanlike are the regular meetings of the trade representatives of the United States, Canada. Japan and are divided by their position in the Europe - Europe being represent- international economic and politied by the EC Commission

Private groups like the Trilateral al and national interests. Commission also play a part - not in solving the common problems but in recognizing them, which would seem a prerequisite if they are to be solved.

Obviously, when leaders of the major countries of the industrialized world meet at Williamsburg in May, they will talk about the signs of economic recovery that have begun to appear in some countries, and about what can be done to stimulate the movement or at least to eliminate the obstacles.

To emulate the approach that served Jean Monnet so well, they should identify one issue small enough to be manageable, big enough to be decisive. As this writer sees it, the problem of the hour is to achieve a joint management of

The French for instance, tried to Conversely, if Trilateralism in of the European Community, and a proaches ever last much longer most at the same time — and both

The Coming Out of America

(Continued from Page 7S)

than we do the extent of the change in American attitudes toward the outside world during the last half century. Americans tend not to be very perceptive about the ways in which they are constantly redefining themselves and their nation. But we have redefined ourselves and our place in the world since Franklin D. Roosevelt led us into World War II.

Americans rarely try to explain just what happened to that self-reliant, proudly isolationist country that the United States used to be. Of course, the war itself was the key factor in pushing America into the world, but there were many other influences. And this was not a sudden transformation. The United States did jump into foreign intrigues even before the war was over, but it has taken the best part of 40 years for America to become truly "internationalized."

This transformation of the American role in the world can be described as the result of great political and economic forces that reshaped the entire world after the war, and perhaps this is the correct description. It certainly would have been difficult for the United States to resist the pressures pulling it into an active international role.

inexorable forces of history. It had to be a human process

Foreigners visiting America for the first time often seem struck by the insularity of this enormous country. They complain that the American news media give short shrift to foreign news, that ordinary Americans do not seem to know Paraguay from Bulgaria, that America is

This is a fair perception for a European, who lives on a crowded continent and cannot avoid an internationalist outlook. But in fact the apparent isolation of modern America is misleading, because so much of this country now is plugged into the outside world. Most significantly, the people who run this country are now likely to be people who also know the outside world from direct personal

It is the process of getting that experience that has been so important to the transformation of America. The Trilateral Commission has been one of many vehicles that have brought influential Americans into close personal contact with their counterparts in the other industrial democra-

But for Americans there had to be more to it than the cies. It would be impossible to ascribe particular significance to any one of them, but the commission certainly deserves an important place on the list.

> In fact, it is the success of the commission and other such groups at creating a kind of international establishment of dominant personalities in the industrial democracies that has made it the target of rightist crazies in the United States. For there are still powerful strains in the American character that are suspicious of outsiders and fearful of all relationships with foreigners.

But those strains have now been relegated to the fringes of American life. Perhaps the best recent symbol of this change was the unlikely presidency of Jimmy Carter, a small-rown Georgian who became a genuine international statesman, albeit one of inconsistent talents. And of course. Jimmy Carter's first real introduction to the outside world came as a member of the Trilateral Commis-

The writer is associate editor of The Washington Post. He has reported from Moscow and Indochina.

Labor: A Plea for Larger Role in World Discussions

By Heinz Oskar Vetter summit meeting proposals is not directed by national interest.

DUESSELDORF — The idea of Trilateralism — to look at North America, Japan and Europe as three areas with a common des-More discrete and more work tiny in the world - cannot be questioned. But neither can it be denied that the trilateral countries cal scene, as well as by their region-

> impact on world developments, then continued consultation, leading to a better understanding among them — if not to a conat the increasing number of im- they envisage. portant issues and at the actual performance of the trilateral world. one wonders how much further we still have to come than simply ac-cepting the idea that the trilateral

in May, the leaders of the seven leading Western industrial nations will hold their economic summit meeting in Williamsburg, Although

Subjects for summit meetings have often been limited to some of the most pressing problems of the day. And it is sometimes more in- Commission was proposed - to teresting to see which topics are left out.

For example, although the economic problems of the summit countries have featured prominently in the discussions, the pressing If they want to have a common problem of increasing unemployment has only very recently caught the attention of the summit members — this in spite of the fact that the national trade union centers of sensus of opinion — is indispensa-ble. This idea has been taken up on 1977 have presented statements to inter-governmental levels as well as each summit meeting, pointing to within a number of official and in- the major economic and employformal groupings. When one looks ment problems and to the solutions

This is not a case for discarding the world economic summits, but for proposing to the participants that they re-evaluate their performance and the original objective of the summit meeting, which is not w prepare or w continue the business of their ministries or ambassa-

In the context of summit meetings, one might also reflect on the produce decisions but rather to objectives of the Trilateral Com-lead to consultations and propos-mission. The ideas of trilateral als, one sometimes wonders summit meetings and of the Trila-The writer is a former high official whether proposals for common ap- teral. Commission originated alprotect their automobile industry deed had a great impact in Europe. member of the Trilateral Commission of long composition of long composition of long composition of long compositions are protected their automobile industry deed had a great impact in Europe. member of the Trilateral Commission than the publication of long composition of long compositions are protected in the follow-up of customs when the follow-up of customs were needed if the coup-

to maintain their impact on world development and to keep from harming one another.

When the idea for the Trilateral

bring together personalities from the trilateral area, from different walks of life, to discuss the issues of our time and to make independent suggestions — this proposal widely resembled the philosophy of West German labor organizations at that time: namely, that conflicts could be resolved or avoided and problems overcome by consultations between the parties con-

In West Germany, that led to the creation of the so-called Konzertierte Aktion of government, em-ployers and trade unions. Some years later, the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) and the European Trade Union Congress (ETUC) were instrumental in establishing a "tripartite conference" of governments, employers and trade unions for the European Community area.

These institutions and the Trilateral Commission share certain characteristics. They are informal (some more, some less). They do not make decisions but rather issue proposals. In following such objectives, they seek to reach a consensus of opinion through compromise, not to create conflicts.

Neither Konzertierte Aktion nor

crises. It seems that the idea of partnership in labor-management topics, it is interesting to look at relations — and in government the subjects that Trilateral Com-management-labor relations — is mission reports do not cover. In

only something for better times. This is not only a problem in in-dustrial relations. The continuing threats to trans-Atlantic, European national, regional or group self-interest - are many. And, in spite of formance of world summit meetings, it has to be recognized that the discussions prevented open conflicts, although they did not there are fewer than 10 trade unionities. solve the existing problems. Never ionists. theless, a relationship based on "As It is not really the responsibility long as they talk, they do not of the commission to seek to have

The friendly relations within the Trilateral Commission certainly Trilateral Commission certainly ing together as members of the tripolitical development within the trilateral area. Meetings proceed in 1983 as they did in 1973, and there remains for the commission the common task of discussing ideas for curing the defects and evils of this world. political development within the

Discussions and reports certainty enlighten the members of the The writer is a member of the Eu-

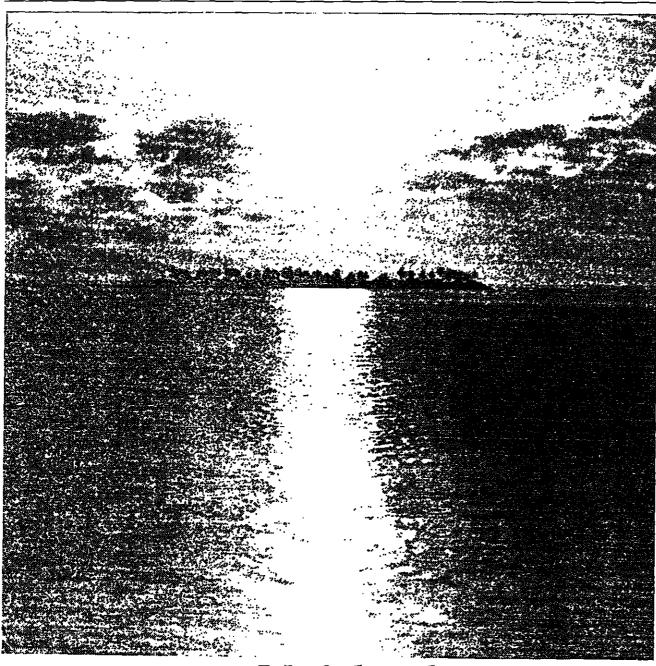
tries of the trilateral region wanted to maintain their impact on world the tougher periods of economic Is that enough?

As in the case of summit meeting particular, the social aspects of many topics have been neglected.

One wonders whether the composition of the membership does and trilateral unity - because of not lead to this selective process in determining discussion subjects The aim of having all walks of life my critical remarks about the permission has not been reached. For whatever reason, out of more than 300 members of the commission,

shoot" is insufficient for an alli-ance in which members do not in-ing up the subjects of daily politics, tend to shoot at one another any- which has frequently been done in recent years. The Trilateral Commission should go back to looking more at the basic problems of liv-

commission. The results might in- ropean Parliament and a former fluence their thoughts and actions, chairman of the German Federation Perhaps that is all that can be ex- of Trade Unions. He is a member of



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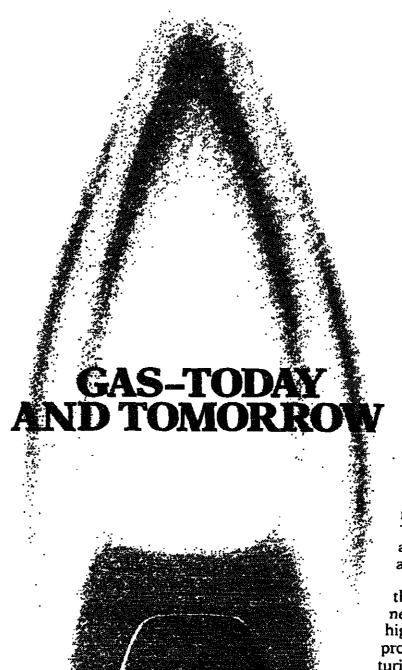
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حدد امن الإمل

Who Will Pay for Lower Oil Prices?

By Daniel Yergin

MAMBRIDGE, Mass. — The "surprise-free scenario" is the prporate pianner's dream. Alas, he world has a habit of delivering purprises. When it comes to energy, imprise has followed surprise over the last decade; and oil went from 12.50 a barrel to, at least for a time. more than \$30 a barrel — to the fistress of corporate planner, gov-

These particular surprises have been very costly. The oil shocks, more than anything else, have driven up inflation in the years since 1973. At the same time, they have been a driving force behind the world slumps, both as a result of the sudden transfer of income and of the policy measures taken to combat inflation. The costs are funtally clear in the number of memployed — which has risen in the industrial world, from about nine million people in the early 1970s to about 35 million today. We are still assimilating the politi-cal consequences of all this.

Of course, the latest unwilling recipients of surprise are not the oil importers, but the oil exporters. In the first months of 1983, they saw lidemand for their oil only half of what it had been in 1979, with devastating impact on revenues and thus on the commitments and plans they had made since 1979. The market has its feedbacks and ironies, and \$34-a-barrel oil inevitably eroded their share of the market - and finally forced them last month to cut the price.

world's energy economy are quite different today from a decade ago.

The adjustment has taken three forms. One is the development of non-OPEC oil. Mexico, the North Sea and Alaska together added six Sea and Alaska together added six million barrels a day to the world market in the late 1970s. The latter two, at least, might never have been economic without the 1973

price increases. Secondly, the march toward greater relative dependence upon oil has been thrown into retreat, as other energy sources — principally coal, but also nuclear and, to a lesser degree, renewable resources have displaced oil. For instance, by 1980, the Japanese cement industry
— completely dependent on oil in
1973 — had switched entirely to

The most striking change has been in demand — and that may turn out to be the most lasting surprise of all. For a considerable loosening of the link between economic activity and energy consumption has taken place, despite the most emphatic declarations that this was impossible. Between 1973 and 1981, the industrial world became 16-persent more energy of became 16-percent more energy ef-

What of the next decade? Can we look forward to great stability in the balance between supply and

There is a strong desire in some circles to ignore the costs already experienced, deny the reality and simply proclaim that the energy problem is over. For instance, a perfectly foolish article in a recent month to cut the price.

"Part of this fall in demand for the Organization of Petroleum Experience of Foxtune amnounced that the Organization of Petroleum Experience of Foxtune amnounced that the Organization of Petroleum Experience of Foxtune amnounced that the Energy Project at the Harvard fast"—proof, the author was asprofound process of adjustment to a profound process of adjustment to the earthquake in oil prices, with the was ignoring both the consider-

At this point, no one knows or can know - how much of the change in the energy economy is the result of permanent conservation, of behavioral changes, or of recession. There are other important puzzles, such as technological innovation, economic growth, public attitudes, depletion rates for existing oil production, and possible new additions to world oil supplies. (Which banker is going to lend Mexico money in the near future to

In other words, there is still good eason to fear, as the International Energy Agency warned in its World Energy Outlook, that energy problems could again act as a constraint on economic growth — as they have so painfully done over the last decade. Prudence would be the constraint on the constraint on economic growth — as they have so painfully done over the last decade. Prudence would be the appropriate stance as we look toward the next decade. It could well prove as unwise for the oil im-porters to assume that the present onditions in the world oil market will last through the next 10 years as it was for the oil exporters to assume that the conditions of 1979-1981 would go on indefinitely.

The writer is chief author of "Global Insecurity: a Strategy for Energy and Economic Renewal," sponsored by the Atlantic Institute



Drilling for oil.

Recovery: Remembering the Poorest Countries

The impact on the developing countries has been particularly severe. As world production and trade have shrunk, the demand for their exports has decreased. The prices of non-oil commodities have dropped to their lowest levels in 40 years.

By A.W. Clausen

WASHINGTON — The liquidity problems that have surfaced in parts of the developing world have been prevented from explod-ing into a global debt crisis by a remarkable cooperative effort involving industrialized and developing countries, international institutions and commercial banks. That spirit of cooperation must be strengthened by nations and institutions on a permanent basis if global economic spansion is to resume and be sustained.

The first small signs of an economic recovery have begun to appear on the horizon for a num-ber of industrialized countries. They could mark an approaching end to the most pervasive and most stubborn recession the world has known

The impact of the recession has been severe. After decades of impressive growth, production in the industrialized countries has declined. The rapid increase in international trade that stimu-lated the growth in production has been halted. The industrialized countries have tried to check inflation with stringent monetary policies. But budget deficits have remained large. Interest rates therefore have risen to record high levels suppressing investment, production and demand, driving up unemployment, and thereby accentuating the recession.

The impact on the developing countries has been particularly severe. As world production and trade have shrunk, the demand for their exports has decreased. The prices of non-oil commodities have dropped to their lowest levels in 40 years. With the decline in export earnings and the high level of interest rates, these countries have found it more difficult to service their external borrowings.

The debt servicing problems do not extend to developing countries as a whole. They are se-tious only in certain specific countries, including some that export oil and some that do not Although centering on individual countries, the

years as in the previous 25. The recession has hit the poorest countries hardest. The fall in commodity prices has reduced their export earnings, and they do not have the economic strength to borrow the funds they need from commercial sources. Yet the flow of concessional funds remains extremely limited. Development programs therefore have had to be cut back sharply in a group of countries that are so poor that they can least afford to make such cuts.

Against this background, the economic recov-ery now incipient in some industrialized countries becomes of first significance for the world as a whole. These countries account for twothirds of global production. They predominate in international trade and they are the major source of the capital flows that nourish economic expansion. Their health has a direct impact on the health of the global economy. That is why it is of the utmost importance that the economic recovery now in seed be sustained, but also that it be disciplined and noninflationary so that the painful progress made in the fight

against inflation is not lost.

Although the role of the industrialized countries is crucial, it has to be complemented by appropriate policies and actions in the developing nations. The fundamental need for both groups is twofold. The first is a stronger commitment to economic progress as a political and cultural priority. The second is a clearer recognitive. nition of the increasing interdependence of to-day's world; nations, both rich and poor, and institutions, both public and private, must cooperate more closely if the enormous problems

ahead are to be addressed effectively.

The commitment to economic progress can be tested in a number of ways. Among the most important is whether countries, facing the protectionist pressures generated by the recession, remain committed to the liberalization of trade problems demand concerted action. The num-ber of cases of debt rescheduling has risen expansion of the last 30 years. As a corollary,

sharply: almost as many developing countries are both developed and developing nations have had to reschedule loans in the last two making the structural adjustments necessary to making the structural adjustments necessary to improve productivity? Are domestic economic management policies aimed both at promoting growth and at nothing less than checking inflation? Is enough being done to control the in-crease in national budget expenditures? Is the adjustment to the end of the cheap energy era being encouraged?

The handling of the debt problems that have arisen in some developing countries exemplifies the kind of closer cooperation between nations and institutions that is required. There is a growing recognition that these problems are essentially those of liquidity, not solvency; that they are manageable; and that they call for con-certed action involving not only the industrialized and developing countries, but also commercial banks and such institutions as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

The World Bank, for instance, has strengthened its policy dialogue to assist developing countries in evolving more effective policies and institutions. Under a special action program, it is speeding up disbursements to help borrowers cope with the shortage of resources that has cut their development plans. Together with its affiliate, the International Finance Corp., it is expanding its role as a catalyst for private investments. And it is trying to improve the flow of information and analysis that might stabilize international capital markets and encourage com-

mercial lending, especially by smaller banks.

Despite such actions, however, one deficiency of key importance remains. The poorest of the poor countries are among those hit hardest by the recession. They need the kind of concession al development assistance the World Bank provides through its affiliate, the International Dedopment Association. But the IDA has suffered from severe funding problems, mainly due to shortfalls in contributions from the United States. The urgent needs of the very poor, therefore, are being met most inadequately.

The writer is president of the World Bank.

East-West Relations: Economic Ties Are a Needed First Step to Detente

By Robert V. Roosa and William M. Reichert

TEW YORK — Once again, Probably the most neglected or Still, both sides will have to conmishandled aspect of East-West retaining trade of a critical strained. This is the fourth significant flare-up in as many years: Afghanistan, Poland, the gas pipeline, and now confrontation over arms deployment. Despite a nervous awareness on both sides that super
lations has been the coordination "strategie" nature, but for the West made now confrontation over arms destabilizing impact of last sumport from all countries, and then must be applied more consistently. deployment. Despite a nervous awareness on both sides that superpower sniping is edging us toward a dizzying precipice, we will probably stumble through, again, just a bit worse for wear, and probably not much wiser. Is there nothing that can be done, short of these receased alarms and the fravine of peated alarms and the fraying of the domestic and international tempers and nerves, that can help conflicts within the NATO alliance

to lessen the strains? tions in recent years-cannot be famire security of Europe than any -measured in terms of calming suc- particular weapons system that cesses, but in terms of how much may or may not be deployed. retrogression has been avoided. As improved coordination of lenges is likely to persist. But there more sensitive to the unequally alare some gaps through which gains located costs or gains that may for both sides might be possible.

has been geopolitical in origin, all Eastern Europe is comparatively have involved a significant economic dimension. Without intending to brush aside the critical strategic and political issues involved in the deterioration of East-West relations, it is worth considering whether the absence of stable and consistent economic relations between the Western nations and the Soviet Union and its allies has seriously diminished the prospects for Western security.

Economic ties alone cannot, of course, prevent political and strategic rivalry. That was, perhaps, the innocent hope of the detente of the 1970s in its early bloom, But compatible international economic contacts are surely a prerequisite for reasonably stable political relations. Yet despite the ample evidence of the importance of economic policies in relations among the Western allies, economic con-iderations are still generally relegated to a residual role in East-West relations, and particularly in relations between the two super-

The recent U.S. approach has been characterized by the attempt to use trade and credit as weapons ather than as bridges. The rationthe has been that feedgrain and ad-anced technology, for example, are so important to the Soviet Unon that embargoes or sanctions imiting access to them will compel avorable changes in Soviet behav-or. Instead, as carried out, such eforts to exert leverage have boomranged - causing the Soviet Unon to direct its promising markets o other suppliers, and creating disuptive tensions among the Westover intermediate-range nuclear

ed States and the Soviet Union re- not require rigid conformity. Disa- reaching quarantine of the Soviet main aggressively adversary, rather greement is not always destructive economy. than becoming constructively com- But all governments and their conpetitive, this repetition of chal- stituents in the West will have to be or both sides might be possible. come from disrupting or expanding
Although each of the recent contrade with the East. A cutoff of frontations between East and West trade with the Soviet Union and peans than to the United States or Japan; conversely, the West Europeans stand to gain more from expanded trade.

> The United States, appearing in-sensitive to these considerations, has behaved erratically and at times ham-fistedly, frequently without consultation with its allies, in using economic weapons against the Soviet Union. But the United States, in a two superpower world, bears the responsibility of having to react to Soviet misbehavior, and the West Europeans have not developed any coherent alternatives for coordinated Western policy.

The more positive potentials for East-West economic relations lie in the value of expanded trade, provided uniquely sensitive military technology can be effectively ex-cluded. Substantial economic benefits may be gained from enabling each side to tap the resources of the other through non-subsidized, nondiscriminatory and mutually advantageous trade. Over the near term, financial constraints and the low capacity of the COMECON

long-term potential is significant. There can be important strategic benefits as well. To be sure, the naive hope that the West can lock the East into a web of interdependence has been justly discredited, but to the extent that normalized social welfare, security can be en-

apparently in contradistinction to some recent proposals from the U.S. Defense Department, But at the levels of sophistication already reached on both sides, the Soviet mined more by Soviet political will than by any major differences between Soviet and Western econom-Any progress of East-West rela-weapons may do more to affect the ic and technological capacity. With ous in recent years-cannot be fature security of Europe than any freer trade in the goods and services of the civilian economies, the retrogression has been avoided. As lumproved coordination of eco-long as relations between the Unit-omic policy toward the East does than if it tries to attempt a wide-

> Geopolitical confrontation appears increasingly to be a negative-sum game; each side may expend vast resources to maintain military capabilities, but there are not likely to be any winners. Economic ex change can be a positive-sum game, in which both sides gain. The West need not begrudge Eastem economic gains, especially it they are equally to the West's bene-fit. As long as the Western nations remain dedicated to the economic dynamism of trade and competition, which has brought enormous gains in social welfare since World War II. the West would need never fear economic progress in the East.

The Williamsburg economic summit meeting at the end of May will probably turn, as have the previous summits meetings, to East-West economic relations. No comprehensive solutions or major initiatives can be expected in the current environment, Instead, there are opportunities for finding little bridges to the East that can establish and build ties in politically neutral areas. The frustrations of recent conflicts between the superpowers and within the alliance ought to instill a new readiness to try to seek out the sectors of mutual self-interest. The time may be approaching when, with neither fanfare nor overblown expectations, opportunities can be found for moving forward to more coorcountries to export marketable goods will limit these gains, but the et Union and Eastern Europe.

The writers are with Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. Mr. Roosa, a Trilateral Commission member, was one of the three authors of the comeconomic exchange reduces mismission's "East-West Trade at a
trust and paranois and increases Crossroads" report, published in Crossroads" report, published in 1982, and Mr. Reichert was an asso-



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The second secon

Japan: Breaking Down the Global Barriers

'(Continued from Page 75) bout sharing the global responsi-vibries among these three regions of the world. In that, Japan has een sometimes criticized that it is rying to get a free ride, and that ind of thing. Now we are going to hange that attitude, we are going o share the global responsibility such more than before. That was cry strongly promoted by the idea

Q.: It is not due to Mr. Nakaone's becoming prime minister so

3. Oh no, no. Mr. Nakasone is Course thinking along the same ight from the beginning almost, macerned with the problem of naring greater responsibility in the

Familia a mila, but Accretoriz

Mr. Nakasone is known to be more teralism? of an internationalist among Japa-nese prime ministers, would you say that the advent of Mr. Naka-Japan is concerned?

A.: Certainly, he has made very strong statements about our security problems, Japan's contribution to the security obligations with the United States, and he also mentions that we must also cooperate with the NATO countries insofar as security concerns the defense of Japan, you see. And therefore I think certainly the prime minister's emergence will contribute to the

strengths of the idea. O.: What in the Japanese view is many people.

Q.: Would you say that, while the future, if there is one, of Trila-

A.: Oh, I think Trilateralism will never die, that's what I am convinced of. And I think it's an idea some as prime minister has helped to be strengthened by all of us. the Trilateralism concept as far as And I think that at the coming meeting in Rome I want to stress

this point very strongly. Q.: What do you feel are the Japanese handicaps in participating in the Trilateralism concept and in the commission. Language,

for example. A.: Yes. Language. And meetings more often take place in Europe or the United States, you see. People don't come to Japan very often so they have got to travel a long distance to meet there. That is certainly sometimes a handicap for

Switzerland

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Friday's NYSE Closing Prices Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

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Statistics Index

TECHNOLOGY

By LEONARD SILK

America's Technological Edge Is in Danger, Academy Finds

TEW YORK — The United States, powerhouse of the industrial revolution in the 20th century, has been suffering from acute anxiety that it is losing its industrial and rechnological leadership to other countries, and losing ground in important world markets to countries that have forged ahead through close cooperation between business and

To sindy the problem, the National Academy of Sciences 14 months ago assembled a distinguished panel of economists, businessmen, engineers and scientists, headed by Howard A. Johnson, chairman of the corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Frank Press, president of the academy, said the most remarkable thing about the report, which is entitled "International Competition in Advanced Technology: Decisions for America," was that strong-minded and independent people, who statted far apart, came to the manimous conclusion that U.S. technological leadership is vulnerable both from domestic weaknesses and from damaging practices of other coun-

The American

secondary system for

teaching science and

mathematics is in

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trouble, the

The panel reached a double-edged recommendation. The first part was that the U.S. government should take a stronger hand in helping to maintain the nation's ca-pacity for technological innova-tion, to benefit its domestic economy, its national security and its competition for global markets. The second was that the govern-

CAPINI ment should pursue policies to re-duce trade frictions troubling eco-GAIN nome and political states and its excess tween the United States and its Academy's report says. tween the United States and in necessary, get tough if other countries refuse to cooperate in opening up their markets.

The panel called for "the most immediate hard bargaining" again The panel called for "the most immediate naru pargaining against such unfair trade practices as predatory pricing, the targeting of specific such unfair trade practices as predatory pricing, the targeting of specific such as the last such as the particle strategies appearant intervention to force the purchase of

industrial strategies, government intervention to force the purchase of products from domestic suppliers, and restrictions on foreign direct investment, particularly those restrictions that deny distribution outlets for U.S. advanced technology products. To deal with such cases, the panel proposed a series of escalating actions, ranging from bilateral discussions to formal dispute proceedings. If all else failed, it called on the United States to take unilateral action

in all cute failed, it cancel on the United States to take "unitateral action in protect the national interest as a step of last resort."

The panel recommended one major organizational change: A biennial cabinet-level review of the innovative capacity and trade competitiveness in the United States. The review would cover not only research and development but also manufacture and distribution. It would also assess the broad elements that affect innovation, including the macroeconomic environment, regulatory policy, patent policy and the antitrust laws.

Greater Aid to Education Urged

The report, presented Thursday at a hearing of the Senate Finance Committee, calls for greater governmental and to education, both higher and lower. The American primary and secondary system for teaching science and mathematics is in trouble, the report says, noting that the higher productivity growth of the Japanese economy has been attributed partly to the quality of that country's pre-college educational system.

Thus the American spotlight is back on the factors affecting economic

growth. Basically, there are two forces behind growth. One is a set of cultural factors, including science, technology and the skills, education and drive of a nation's people. The other is a set of economic factors, especially the accumulation of capital and its investment in plant and equipment or in research and deselopment.

On the cultural side, the United States still looks very strong Ameri-

can scientists still lead the world in winning Nobel Prizes. There is a zest in science and engineering that carries over into many high-rechnology

Concern About Social Divisions

educational disparrises, with fissures developing along class lines. The large number of unskilled and undereducated workers hampers the nation's technical and industrial progress.

On the economic side, persistently high interest rates and low rates of savings and investment are slowing the growth of productivity. While many small companies are showing remarkable dynamism and have ready access to venture capital, basic U.S. industries are having trouble ng long-term funds at costs below anticipated rates of natura. High interest rates, resulting from the clash between loose fiscal and tight money policies, have made the dollar so overpriced as to undermine U.S. exports and overstimulate imports. And high interest rates have

helped slow the growth of the U.S. and world economies. The academy report should bein mobilize government support for the nation's slipping technological and international trade position. It could also help improve the macroeconomic and social cuvironment for growth, if U.S. policymakers will read it and take it seriously.

The New York Times

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Prices Up Modestly On NYSE

NEW YORK — Prices on the New York Stock Exchange closed at record levels for the third consecutive day Friday, with volume remaining at about the same level as Thursday.

Analysts said some investors were eashing in on pre-weekend profits from the test rally of the year. But buying interest remained strong in automobile issues but spread throughout the list.

The Dow Jones industrial average closed up 6.00 points at a record 1171.25 after a buying spuri

in the final minutes brought the index to its high for the day.

The transportation index improved 6.04 points to 529.94 and in

the broader market, advance led declines by a three-to-two margin. Volume declined slightly to 89.7 million shares from the 90.2 million traded Thursday.

The Dow had climbed 51.76 points in the previous six sessions and 327.73 since the 12 miles the previous six sessions.

and 387.73 since Aug. 12, when the rally began.
Analysts said despite the profit-

taking the rally was being sus-tained by Americans horrying to open individual retirement ac-counts before the midnight tax-fil-

Huge amounts of that money were being poured into mutual funds, which in turn are moving into the stock market in an unexpected bonanza. A New York Times-CBS poll showed \$30 billion has poured into IRAs in the past

investors were encouraged by government reports that showed industrial production rose 1.1 percent in March while producer prices were falling 0.1 percent.
On the NYSE floor, American
Telephone & Telegraph was the

most active issue, up 1% to 66%. Chrysler was second, up % 10 21%. American Motors was third, unchanged at 6%. General Motors was up 1/4 to 64 and Ford, which iced a recall of 6,600 of its 1983 Mustang convertibles, was off 1/2 to 44.

The auto stocks have been in the spotlight all week since reporting a surge in early April sales.

IBM, which rose % Thursday after reporting a 24 percent incres

ing deceit to win a \$100 million So- target if someone has insider knowledge and wants to

By Vartanig G. Varran

fect the entire market."

New York Times Service



Insider Trading in Options A Challenge to Regulators

New York Times Service CHICAGO - Insider trading in options has become a sticky problem for the traders and regulators of the nation's options exchang

Once a plague of the stock exchanges, insider trading has moved into the options pits, propelled by the chance to make staggering profits. Ambiguous laws covering insider trading in options and the relative ease of evading enforcement procedures add to the law of coviens.

Receatly, a handful of highly sensitive cases, particularly one involving Thomas Reed, a special assistant to President Rouald Reagan, have come to light as a result of renewed enforcement activity by the Securities and Exchange Commission. But many less publicized cases may be falling through the holes of the enforcement net, officials and traders say. With their present tools, regulators seem powerless to do much about a myriad of smaller aboses, they say.

"They're only looking at the most unusual cases," said Mark R. Beatty, a former SEC official now practicing law with Lane, Powell, Moss & Miller in Seattle. Those cases have generally involved mergers. Mr. Beatty contends, however, that the bulk of insider trading in options results in "small profits of 50 to 100 percent" on tips about such routine matters as changes in profits and dividends.

The exchanges rely heavily on their record keeping to deter insider trading. Their computers, however, are programmed to spot large volume transactions and volatile prices, leaving an area in which some cheaters can operate undetected. The exchanges keep their procedures secret to prevent attempts at circum-"Obviously, it's tougher to weed out the petry iseler so we concentrate on the bigger cases," said

ahead 30 to 485 on 3,200 shares amid speculation the company would declare a stock split. Analysts said about 45 percent of the 2.8 million Metromedia shares outstanding are owned by manager.

Paradyne was off 4½ to 25¼.

The company asked a federal court to dismiss a suit filed against it by the Securities and Exchange Commission charging Paradyne with usmission charging Paradyne with us

Market Sees IBM as a Natural Leader

capitalize on it," said John Reppert, a trader on the floor of the Chicago Board Options Exchange. "You can make so much more money on leveraged options than you can by buying stocks. The insiders don't care or don't know that somebody gets hurt. I guess they think the money falls from the sky."

Responding to such charges, the SEC is orchestrating a crusade against insider trading in options, with some highly visible cases pending.

In a well-public case, Mr. Reed is under investi-

gation by the Justice Department for his transactions involving the options of Amax, where Mr. Reed's father is a director. Mr. Reed, who made more than \$427,000 on a 48-hour investment of \$3,125, earlier settled a civil case with the commission by putting the profits in escrow

In its most well-known options case, the commis-sion has frozen or required the disgorgement of total profits of \$3 million in connection with Kuwait Interstional's takeover of Santa Fe International. In one suit, it is trying to recover \$1.1 million from Gary L. Martin, a certified public accountant with a client on the Santa Fe International board. He and several friends in Seattle invested \$54,000 in Santa Fe International options just before the October 1981 take-

Mr. Martin's profits were ordered frozen, but he subsequently invested part of the money in another venture. With his case on appeal, he is scheduled to begin serving in June a contempt-of-court term for using the money. His defense: "I've contended all along that it's my money. We're dealing with some definitional problems about insider trading." He says he purchased all his options before a deal was

Options give the holder the right to buy or sell 100 shares of stock at a fixed price within a given period. Generally, they can be purchased for only pennies per share when their expiration date is approaching. In certain situations, their value can soar overnight.

Suppose, for example, an option holder has purchased for 25 cents a share the right to buy 100 shares of the XYZ Corporation at \$50 a share. Subsequently, someone makes an offer to acquire XYZ for \$60 a re. The value of the option would increase to

(Continued on Page 15, Col. 5)

adjusting for a 4-for-1 stock split.

Between the start of 1976 and early 1982, the stock was a sleeping

giant, virtually unchanged in price. What altered the outlook for the

spiring performance?

A critical factor, according to

was IBM's success last year in ship-

ping its new line of large comput-

ers. The company also met with success in entering the personal

For several decades, the stock has ranked as the favorite holding

of pension funds and other institu-

tional investors. Currently, these

It is not mansual for a thinly cap italized technology issue to shoot up in price, but that makes IBM's

relentless advance even more im-

Moreover, at the end of March,

its common stock carried a market

valuation of \$61.2 billion. This sum

institutions own an estim

sometime this year.

computer market.

switches to April 25, when directors gather to declare the quarterly company after those years of mindividend, and stockholders conspiring performance?

Producer Prices Off 0.1% in U.S.; Output Up 1.1%

WASHINGTON — U.S. whole-sale prices fell 0.1 percent and industrial production rose 1.1 percent in March, the government reported Friday in two apparent new signals of economic recovery.

industrial output rose despite a clined to an annual rate of 5.8 mil-tion from the 6.3 million rate of

But the Federal Reserve Board report showed new gains in production of such items as carpets,

gains of 0.2 percent in December, 1.5 percent in January and 0.3 per-

cent in February, the report said. The only other major economic reports available so far for last month have shown unemployment other than autos and appliances." dipping 0.1 percentage point to However, gains in auto production had helped push production

modest 0.3 percent. Government officials and pri-crease output again soon vate economists have said the re-The price report said t covery from the recession seemed to have slowed a bit in February after a burst of economic activity recovery was fizzling.

curred in the output of construc-tion supplies, durable and nondur-quarter since 1952.

Up \$2.2 Billion

NEW YORK — The narrowest measure of the U.S. money supply, M-1, which measures cash in circu-The figures showed that wholesale, or producer, prices calculated annually declined 4.1 percent for the year's first three months. The report said the March prices were drawn by a decline in oil Reserve reported Friday after the markets had closed.

The increase was roughly in line decline in auto production, the government said. The report said that the wider money-supply measure, M-2, rose \$18.8 billion in March, again matching predic-

A survey Thursday showed that the median forecast by economists for M-1 was for a 52 billion increase. The survey came up with forecasts of an increase ranging from \$700 million to \$3 billion. Analysts said, however, that M-1 growth is expected to moderate in subsequent weeks.

able materials and consumer goods force and retail sales rising a up the previous two months, and automakers are expected to in

The price report said that energy prices overall fell 3.2 percent for the month, the fourth straight de-

in January. But they also have said Not since 1976 have producer there was no reason to believe the prices fallen for a full calendar recovery was fizzling. quarter, the Labor Department
The industrial production report said in releasing the price report,
said that in March "large gains ocThe economy's January-March

Chrysler Attacks **GM-Toyota Accord**

New York Times Service HIGHLAND PARK, Michigan Chrysler officials have begun a public campaign to block the planned joint production of small cars in the United States by General Motors and Toyota.

third-largest auto producers in the termed GM's "all-Japanese strateworld, respectively, signed a joint gy for the low end of the auto marventure agreement on Feb. 17 to ket." produce 200,000 Toyota-designed ifornia, but would be under the direction of a Toyota executive.
Robert Perkins, Chrysler's vice

president for its Washington office, said Thursday that his company has filed a brief outlining its objecmanufacturer of computers and the company would report first-quarter grandfather of technology stocks. profits of around \$1.60 a share.

The Dow Jones industrial average Thursday, IBM announced earntions with the Federal Trade Commission. The FTC must decide NEW YORK — Once again. The Dow Jones industrial average. Thursday, IBM amnounced earnwall Street is finding that, as IBM closed that day at 1,156.64, also a record. IBM became one of the it came to \$1.62 a share, up from 51.33 a year earlier.

The company last increased its cash dividend in December 1978. Then, the payout was raised to 86 cents a share from 72 cents, after \$1.33 a year earlier. whether the project meets antitrust

In addition, Mr. Perkins said, Chrysler may consider a private No matter what happens April antitrust lawsuit if the FTC dec-25, analysts generally expect the lines to block the plan. company to raise its cash dividend

"We're going to do whatever we can do to stop it," he said. Most of GM's domestic competitors had said they were concerned about the venture when it was an-

nounced. They said the new car would give GM a competitive Union Denies Report product, presumably at lower cost than models produced completely Mr. Dube of Lehman Brothers, in the United States, because of and cheaper labor. About 50 per-cent of the parts for the new car would be imported from Japan.

Most compentors, however, have limited their complaints to low-key grumbling and responses to inquiries from the FTC. But Chrysler, which has staked

percent of the company's 603 milits future on smaller cars with solved through peaceful collective front-wheel drive, has lately taken bargaining." a union statement standing.

municating to government officials what it believes are the dangers inherent in the GM-Toyota agree-

Earlier this week, Gerald Greenwald, vice chairman of Chrysler, testified before a House subcommittee that the Fremont "It seems clear that it is GM's

cars a year starting in late 1984.

The joint company would use
GM's idle factory in Francat, Calto becoming overnight the 11 S's to becoming overnight the U.S.'s third-largest foreign-car importer, just behind Toyota and Nissan," Mr. Greenwald said.

GM responded to Mr. Greenwald's remarks Thursday by saying: "We believe our joint man pfacturing venture with Toyota will provide jobs in America. bring an outstanding new product into the small-car end of the market and provide an opportunity to learn from proven Japanese manufacturing techniques."

Mr. Greenwald's statement on GM imports was apparently a reference to GM's previously announced plans to begin importing small cars from its Japanese affili-

The United Auto Workers union

has denied reports that members will be asked to vote on supporting Japanese production efficiencies a nationwide strike if GM and Toyota bypass laid-off workers when they reopen the Fremont plant, The Associated Press reported from Detroit.

The story in Thursday's Los Angeles Times was "erroneous," un-ion spokesman David Mitchell said Thursday. The union believes the Fremont hiring issue "can be re-

Partner Quits UPI in Role Dispute

helped to carry the market to record heights.

Thursday, IBM traded at a record price of \$110 before closing at \$109.50, up 75 cents. Mean-highly visible name," said Jay P. Stevens of Dean Witter Reynolds.

The psychology on IBM can affect the entire market."

Dow's 30 components in 1979.

Thursday, IBM traded at a record price of \$110 before closing at \$109.50, up 75 cents. Mean-while, the Dow industrials rose of \$8.50 to \$9 a share. Farnings of \$8.50 to \$9 a share. Farnings of around \$10 a share are expected in \$1.65.25.

Thursday's rise in the industrial

purchase of the stock," said Ulric ing industries, among other factors. dend increase at the time of the Well of Morgan Stanley.

This steady undercurrent of Avril 24 masters.

Weil of Morgan Stanley. This steady undercurrent of April 25 meeting will trigger re-On Wednesday, a new high of strength also reflected the expecta-109 was set by the world's largest tion among IBM followers that the ly valued shares," said Mr. Weil of

Stephen Dube of Lehman Broth average was its sixth straight,

ers Kuhn Loeb began recommend-marking the longest string of coning International Business Massecutive gains since the mammoth

riging international business was securive gains since the mainting chines stock to clients last spring rally began last Aug. 13 at 776.92.

"Tm still positive on the stock," he Lately, stock prices have been benefiting from Isvorable sales results for the automotive and retail-

disagreeing with his two partners over what was described as management sivic.

Mr. Hooker, a lawyer and former publisher of The Nashville r resigned as chairman of the UPI board after a meeting Wednesday in Washington with the two majority share owners, ic Douglas F. Rube and William E. Geissler.

Mr. Rube and Mr. Geissler Mr. Hooker has developed his turned down Mr. Hooker's offer to own style of management over buy the company for what a pre- many years, as have we; we found pared statement from the company that our styles were not as compatidescribed as millions of dollars and ble as we had hoped." instead gave him back the \$1 he. The statement quoted Mr. had paid for his shares two months. Hooker as saying. Our opinions ago.

lion out of a budget of nearly \$100 buy mine back for \$1." Call Money 6th 6th 1982 1 Landon 1982 1 Land

By Jonathan Friendly

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — John Jay Hooker, a Tennessee business and political figure who acquired a 30 percent interest in the United Press.

International news agency in February, has left the company after disagreeing with his two partners.

International news agency in February, has left the company after disagreeing with his two partners.

International news agency in February, has left the company after disagreeing with his two partners.

International news agency in February, has left the company after disagreeing with his two partners.

International news agency in February, has left the company after disagreeing with his two partners.

In the source also said Mr. Hooker was used to running things and thafed at his partners desire to make decisions through committees.

There is continuing uncertainty over how UPI has been fairing uncertainty in the company after disagreeing with his two partners.

meeting.

J. Overgaard. Scripps reportedly gave the company to Media News in return for that company's agree-ment to assume pension liabilities. Mr. Small, an Illinois newspaper publisher, and Mr. Overgaard, a Chicago lawyer, left the company in February as Mr. Hooker joined

In the prepared statement, Mr. Rube, the managing director, said

Mr. Hooker's departure intro- future plans, but they are entitled duces another element of uncer-to carry them out their own way. I tainty about the news agency's fu-said publicly that I paid \$I for my ture. UPI has slowed its loss of ch-minority shares. I will add now ents and reduced its deficits, which that I offered them millions for in 1980 reached a high of \$12 mil- their shares. Their decision was to

One source familiar with man-

pressive. It has virtually doubled since last year's low of 55%.

vene for the company's annual

"Perhaps a long overdue divi-

der its new owners. While many in the newspaper industry believe that its huge losses are continuing, the news agency says it wrote \$8 mil-lion in new business in the first of \$68.9 billion for securities listed quarter of 1983.

Dated: March 31, 1983

on the American Stock Exchange. NOTICE OF MEETING OF SHAREHOLDERS AND OF DIRECTORS OF

VILCABANDA INTERNATIONAL CORPORATION, S.A. NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that a meeting of the shareholders and directors of VILCABAMBA INTERNATIONAL CORPORATION, S.A., shall be held at The Copenhagen Sheraton Hotel, Copenhagen, Denmark on April 30, 1983 commencing at 3:00 in the afternoon of that day for the purpose of electing directors of the Corporation, and to transact such other business as may come before the meeting.

The Board of Directors has determined that the shareholders who personally oftend the meeting will be entitled to vote at the meeting only if they present one or more share certificates of the common stock in the Corporation. If you intend on participating in the meeting and costning your vote, you must personally present your share certificate(s) at the meeting and any adjournments thereof.

CECILIA ANN HALLMAN

The Value Line provides OBJECTIVE **EVALUATIONS** of AMERICAN STOCKS

The Value Line Investment Survey continually reports on more than 1700 American stocks. It provides a vast amount of statistical history and forecasts, all of which are reduced by Value Line's computer-based programs to two simple, easy-to-apply indices: {1} The rank for Timeliness (Relative Price Performance of the stock in the Next 12 Months) and (2) the rating for Sefety (Price Stability of the stock plus financial strength of the

An introductory subscription to The Value Line Survey brings you as a BONUS Value Line's 2000-page Investors Reference Service, with the latest full-page reports, rankings, and ratings on over 1700 stocks, together with the 72-page guide, "A Subscribers Guide." Then, every week for 12 weeks you will receive new reports on about 130 stocks, which update and replace the corresponding reports in your Reference Service-for just \$60, about half the regular rate, providing you have not had a subscription in the past two years. Send payment along with name and address together with this ad to Dept. 213 MCB

THE VALUE LINE

Friday's AMEX Closing Prices
Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street. Friday's NYSE Closing Prices
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International Herald Tribune We've got news for you

Herald dribune

حدد امن رالإمل

Turkey Has High Hopes for Banking Reform

By Ragip Erron

ISTANBUL - Turkey's banking and imancial system, after months of disarray, is on the brink of a major facelift that Finance Minister Adnan Baser Kafaoglu says will lead to sounder financial institu-

tions under stricter control. Farlier this month the ruling generals gave their assent to a new law handing the cabinet power to change by decree most of the key legislation covering banks and cap-Full details of the shake-up have

HANNOVER, West Germany ---

The European Commission has fined Klöckner-Werke 109.7 mil-

lion Deutsche marks (\$45 million)

ty steel production quotas, a com-

that Klöckner does not intend to

pay the fines, which cover the

fourth quarter of 1981 and the first

The company has already been fined a total 79 million DM for

exceeding quotas in the first three

The spokesman said the compa-

Grains

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for exceeding European Communi

pany spokesman said Friday. He said in reply to ques

two quarters of 1982.

not be announced, but Mr. Kafao-glu has said he wants to restructure ey," suddenly found themselves in as the government's tight money the banks and set up for the first time in Torkey a formal capital market and end a period of plung-ing profits, closings and general confusion in the financial sector.

banks began when the government tablished capital market. The brolifted controls on interest rates after introducing a tough monetarist banks for savers' deposits by offerpolicy aimed at curbing runaway ing high interest rates. inflation and stabilizing an economy racked by external debts and ternal overspending.

Klöckner is contesting the fines for the first three 1981 quarters, he

In February, the EC advocate

ommended to the European Court

U.S. Futures Prices

Food

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ROUND WHITE POT

59,660 lbs.; Cents per lb. Nov 7,80 7,51 Est, soles 3. Prev. soles Prev day's open int 541,

had little basis in law.

The present problems among the undustry, to fill the vacuum caused by the absence of an es-

Rates for depositors soared to more than 50 percent a year from near 15 percent. The interest rates The banks, which up to then for industrial borrowers, turning

fierce competition with each other.

stand acute liquidity shortages, they collapsed in two waves in late-EC Body Fines Klöckner on Quota 1981 and mid-1982. Most of the ones that crashed in the first wave were small "market mission assesses Klöckner's pro-duction, adding that if the commu-have said that approval of the recbankers" operating single branch-es. In July of last year, however, the country's biggest brokerage house, Banker Kastelli, estimated

fault on their debts,

nity pursues its case the company ommendation would have a major would fight it through West German courts. to have sold bonds and certificates Meanwhile, in Bochum, West worth 100 billion Turkish lira (\$490.6 million), went bust. Germany, a spokesman for Krupp Stahl said Friday that his company in the resulting chaos, most of the remaining brokers also shut will not contest a 2.5-million Eurogeneral was reported to have recommended to the Fernanda to th for exceeding quotas.

down. Banking analysts estimate the central bank pumped about 45 billion lira into the banks to keep them afloat as an alarmed public of Justice that a 5-million DM fine, part of the earlier 79-million DM due a compensatory payment resulting from a 1981 European total should be annulled because it began a run on cash. While the banks struggled to had little basis in law.

Court of Instice judgment. He said
Krupp plans talks with the commendation is not binding on the

Court of Instice judgment. He said
Krupp plans talks with the commission on balancing the two payovercome falling profits and a slump in deposits, Mr. Kafaoglu began to prepare measures to resny disagrees with the way the coun- court, which is expected to rule on ments but he gave no details. tructure the system.

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Financial

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INCREASER

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April 15

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London Metals

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April 15 | Cash Prices

Rec. 5-2

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After a special meeting with representatives of all 45 domestic and foreign banks operating in Turkey, policies took grip, also rocketed to Dozens of brokerage houses also more than 80 percent. Mr. Kafaoglu set up a committee sprang up selling bank certificates of deposit and bonds, as well as of officials from his ministry and the banks to study a list of suggest-

rowers, facing a drastic slump in ed changes. domestic demand, started to deon April 22 and the changes are ex-Incompetence among bank executives helped the brokerage houses, pected to be ordered shortly afterwhich were able to outmaneuver

ward by government decree.

Mr. Kalaogiu says the old systhe banks and take the lead in fixing interest rates.

But the brokerage houses were its place he is expected to e the first to fall. Unable to withits place he is expected to establish

> the banks favor their own companies in giving loans and credits. Officials say Mr. Kafaoglu also intends to raise the capital of the banks and increase their ratio of

deposits to loans.

Mr. Kafaoghu has already said merge with each other or with big- year. ger banks.

Regulators Challenged By Options

(Continued from Page 13) the stock exchange specialist, would have to buy back the option at \$10.25 to close out his position. The traders get a lot of help from exchanges in seeking out and re-porting illegal use of privileged inormation. The American Stock Exchange says that by watching its computer printouts closely it warned the SEC about irregularities in the case involving Mr. Reed

and Amax only a few hours after the suspicious trades were made.

The exchanges regularly trade information among themselves and with the stock exchanges. After any material announcement, such as mergers, big swings in profits, divitheir "audit trails" for unusual ac- tial.

changes and the commission are not always effective, especially in cases involving secret Swiss and other foreign accounts. Insiders may also escape detection by entering several small transactions at different brokerage houses. And proving access to insider informa-

The changing definition of "in-sider" has also hampered enforcement. A few years ago, the Supreme Court ruled in Chiarella v. United States that an "insider" was someone with a fiduciary responsi-bility to the stockholders. The court said vincent Chiafella, an employee of a financial printer, had no obligation to disclose his inside information to those who unknowingly sold shares of companies soon to be taken over.

The question of who is an "insider" is a particularly sticky one for options. Since exchange-traded op-tions are not direct issues of a corporation, some legal experts con-tend that options trading is exempt from the requirements of provision 16b of the Securities and Exchange Act of 1933. That provision requires corporate officers to report all transactions in the company's securities. It also forbids the buying and

selling of the same corporate security within a six-mouth period by an officer or director of the corporation. Reformers say legislative clar-ification of 16b would eliminate much of the "small" insider trading in options. If clarified, in and out trading would be reportable and explicitly illegal.

There may also be a need for

harsher enforcement penalties. Judge William H. Orrick in the Northern District of California last fall refused to sign an order ending the SEC's civil case against two defendants in the Santa Fe International case. The judge has suggest-ed that the penalty should be harsher than simply returning profits of \$116,647. The commission has no strict

guidelines in determining whether a case should be referred to the Justice Department for prosecu-

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SOCIÉTÉ CENTRALE DE BANODE International Issue U.S. \$20,000,000 Floating Rate Notes Duc 1987

For the six months, April 5, 1983 to October 4, 1983 the notes will carry an interest rate of 10% per

The interest due October 5, 1983 against corpon no 8 will be U.S. \$51,47 and has been computed on the actual number of days elapsed (183) divided by 360.

BUSINESS BRIEFS

Mexico Extends Total Control To Cover Citibank Operations

MEXICO CITY (AP) — The Mexican government has ordered Citi-bank to observe official rates and currency controls, according to a A seven-member subcommittee source at the bank. Citibank was the only major full-service bank not will report back to a full meeting affected by the nationalization of the country's banking system last Sep-

"We were asked to stop dealing at unofficial rates because of the impact on the local foreign exchange market," the source said Thursday. Mr. Kafaoglu says the old system of brokers will be banned, in comply but has found it virtually impossible to carry out major foreign its place he is expected to establish exchange operations at the official exchange rate of 149.40 pesos to the dollar

a regulated capital market.

Mr. Kafaoglu is also expected to
try to reduce the influence that heavily in foreign currencies at rates as high as 180 pesos to the dollar. Currency controls were imposed Sept. I when the government expropriated all Mexican private banks. Citibank, the only foreign institution accounts and deposits, was left untouched.

Honeywell Reviews Olivetti Stake

HANNOVER, West Germany (Reuters) — France is considering changes in the 26-percent stake in Olivetti held by the state-controlled Cli Honeywell-Bull group, according to Jean-Claude Hirel, director of the electronics department in the Industry Ministry.

he will make the appointment of senior bank executives subject to Finance Ministry approval. Bank-Honeywell-Bull stake could be transferred to that company. Mr. Hirel ing analysts also expect him to or-der some smaller, weaker banks to sideration. Honeywell-Bull lost 1.35 billion francs (\$184.6 million) last

Bekins, Far West Continue Talks

LOS ANGELES (Renters) - Bekins said Friday that discussions are continuing on the offer by Far West Financial to buy up to 100 percent of Bekins' stock at \$20 a share. Bekins said it had engaged the investment banking furm of Goldman Sachs to advise it on the Far West proposal. Discussions with Far West are continuing, Bekins said. But it added that "no assurance can be given that a mutually satisfactory agreement can be reached." Earlier, Far West said it may end its offer unless Bekins' directors "promptly" approve the offer,

Washington Post Plans Weekly

WASHINGTON (WP) - The Washington Post plans to publish a new newspaper starting this fall. The paper, to be called National Weekly, will be "designed for the reader who wants to know more about what goes on in Washington — about politics, the federal government and the economy," said Donald E. Graham, publisher of The Post.

The paper will be specially edited to provide readers from other areas with in-depth, analytical material on Washington issues, Mr. Graham said. The paper will be printed at The Post's offset printing plant in Springfield, Virginia, and sold by subscription and on newsstands.

Japan to Ease Some Import Quotas

TOKYO (Reuters) - Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone has approved a plan to resolve a dispute on Japanese imports of beef and citrus fruit from the United States, Agriculture Minister Iwazo Kaneko said Friday.

Mr. Kaneko said the plan would include a raising of import quotas. dend changes or introduction of Details of the proposal remain to be worked out with the ruling Liber new products, the exchanges check al Democratic Party and with the farm lobby, which is politically influen-Details of the proposal remain to be worked out with the ruling Liber-

But the best efforts of the ex- Toyota, Nissan Cite Output Drops

TOKYO (UPI) - Toyota Motor and Nissan Motor, the No. 1 and No 2 Japanese automakers, have reported lower production and export shipments for the fiscal year ending March 31.

Toyota said its vehicle production for the period totaled 3.18 million units, off 0.5 percent from a year before. Nissan said it produced 2.4 million vehicles, down 6.6 percent from the preceding fiscal year.

Toyota produced 2.3 million passenger cars, up 3.3 percent, while Nistion has always been extremely dif-san's production fell 2.9 percent to 1.8 million. Toyota said passenger car exports rose 3.3 percent, while Nissan's car exports rose only 0.3 percent.

ADVERTISEMENT

INTERNATIONAL FUNDS

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M.B.A.

(Master in Business Administration) in Rome, Italy

SWISS BANK CORP

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The American University of Washington D.C. incooperation with l'Instituto per la Formazzione e l'Aggionamento Professionale (LF.A.P.) Rome, Italy.

that there are a few openings remaining for the fall class number 3, starting September 5, 1983. Applications will being accepted. Make inquiries promptly to:

Director M.B.A. Program, LF.A.P., Internation Programs Piazza della Republica, 59 00185 Rome, Italy. Telephone (06) 479 871 - Telex 614263 IFORM I

OECD Says Inflation at 10-Year Low

By Paul Lewis New York Times Service

PARIS - The rate of inflation in the Western industrial world has fallen to its lowest level in 10 years. pushed down by a global recession that has left millions of people unemployed, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development reported Friday.

Consumer prices in the OECD's 24 member countries rose by only 0.2 percent on average during Febmary, following a 0.5-percent rise in January, the organization said in its latest monthly inflation survey. The average inflation rate for the OECD countries over the 12 months to February dropped to 5.7 percent, compared with 5.9 percent in the year ending last January. These are the first yearly inflation figures below 6 percent since Febu-ary 1973, the OECD said.

Earlier, the OECD had reckoned Western inflation was running at an annual rate of 6.4 percent in January. But this month it revised the January figure down to 5.9 per-cent as a result of a change in statistical methodology, and calculated that inflation sunk to an even

lower annual rate in February. The new OECD figures also show that the decline in Western inflation is accelerating. While the annual rate during the 12 months ending February was down to 5.7 percent compared with an average of 7.8 percent during 1982 and 10.5 percent the year before, the rate during the six months ending Feb-

ruary was only 2 percent. OECD staff economists said slowing world inflation was aided in February by the second consecutive monthly fall in retail energy prices and by the general weakness of other commodity and food prices, brought about by the global re-

The fall in inflation is most striking in the seven major OECD countries, the United States, Japan, West Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Canada. During the year ending February it was down to 4.8 percent in these countries, compared with 7.1 percent during 1982.

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sterdam, 8th April 1983.

\$Millions to be Made in Vacuums

What the Public Doesn't Know **Builds Fortunes**

ton when there was supposed to be an agricultural glut, Ginnie Moes the last time there was supposed to be a credit crunch, heatposed to be a creat crutch, teating oil futures during the oil-price panic of late February and lumber futures the last time Wall Street experts thought interest rates were going to climb again. The cotton climbed 8 cents; the Ginnies added \$5; the oil swung ohead by 13 cents per gallon and the lumber has completed the first \$5 of a seasonal rebound. The general public misses such move-ments for the same reason that semiconductor stocks were being pounded when Advanced Micro Devices at a third its present price was selected as one of the earliwas selected as one of the earliest equity purchases of the steading-growing IOG fund. When AMD was \$11 (split adjusted) the papers were full of news about the Japanese dominating 64K RAM production; and during an early-April shakeout in the same aroun at much higher leads a group at much higher levels a major national U.S. publication was featuring the same news even though it was misleading a year age and is now completely deceptive. When solid research turns up facts which are over-looked or distorted by the mass media, the astute speculator can detect an upside vacuum that is potentially productive of rapid gain as the comprehension of a gain as the comprehension of a few overcomes the negative emo-tionalism of a misguided public. In heating oil futures alone, based upon open-interest figures, the bulls made \$100 million in six weeks by buying when the head-line reachest thought according weeks by buying when the head-line readers thought prices were ready to go down. Now sellers of gold who were motivated by the oil panic are facing an upside supply vacuum which was ilkus-trated for IOG clients two weeks ogo. Telephone, telex or return the coupon for complimentory weekly reports which chart-illustrate these strategies in the

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egies, it announced Friday. The five are the Piccadilly, the St. Er-mins, the Chesterfield, the Kennedy and the Clifton Ford hotels; offers also will be invited for the

Dividends

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Remark

LONDON — Grand Metropolitan plans to sell five London hotels that do not fit into its trading strategies, it announced Friday. The five are the Piccadilly, the St. Erfive are the Piccadilly are

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CROSSWORD PUZZLE

Breakfast Time

Page 16 **ACROSS** 1 Milquetoast 7 Caesar, for one 12 Trooper's 21 Have high Sappho 23 Accustom 24 Hat-trick component 25 Bacon 29 Adjust, in a way 30 Whittier's feet 31 Ways to go, shortly 32 Card game 33 Work unit 34 Old thralls

duli and tank 22 Inspiration for **62** Tuxedo

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17 Taj Mahal site 18 Complained like Simba 3 On the mark 4 Freshwater game fish 5 Common verb 19 Used a dray 20 Most sneaky 26 Kind of button 6 Electrical device 27 Bean produced in Burlington 28 — mundi (opal) 7 "Come up and sometime' 34 Mansard 8 Damascen 9 Papa of TV's 35 Call

By Joseph Wambaugh. 276 pp. \$15.95.

Perigord Press Morrow, 6 Henderson Drive,

WHAT in heaven or on earth has a Russian sub

VV embarrassingly aground in Swedish territorial waters got to do with the strung-out cops of the Rampart Division of the Los Angeles Police De-

partment? Quite a lot, you will be entertained to

find out as you pursue Joseph Wambaugh, a former

Los Angeles Police Department detective turned best-selling spinner of police procedurals, through the back alleys of his metropolis and, for good mea-

sure, the laboratories and watering holes favored by students and faculty at the California Institute of

Wambaugh's cops hate Democrats, affirmative action, blacks, Mexicans, Koreans, boat people

from Vietnam, Jerry Brown, Mayor Bradley and lesser politicians. The list, of course, is incomplete.

One of the novel's more baroque creations, the Bad

Czech, a huge specimen with appetites to match for

violence, women and alcohol, cherishes an especial-

Rose Bird and the rest of the "supremes." An equally lovable character is Ludwig, a 130-pound Rottweiler, largest of the LAPD's K-9 unit. Ludwig,

DENNIS THE MENACE

10 Hornophone for eight 11 Leader of a small septet 12 French incom

36 — fell swooj 37 Dick and 39 Like a harrow 40 Ushered 41 Creators of dins at inns 42 Author of "The Happy Prince" 14 Club charges

THE DELTA STAR

Technology.

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Reviewed by Robert Lekachman

DOWN 44 Take out

ACROSS

96 Anger, and then some

pastries

193 — favor 196 Paid bosor to

107 The last word 108 Clementine's

110 Explosive stuff 111 Gr. resistance

117 Imposed, as a fine

119 Woodworking tool 121 Mr. Arden

122 Geometric surface 123 Toast

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129 -—— Jean Baker

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78 "--- is the question" 82 Medieval hel-83 Kind of maniac 85 Put an end to 86 Master

DOWN

78 Got even

74 Winless race

horse 75 Result of six

outs 76 Base; average 77 Summit:

Comb. form

BOOKS

bar where off-duty cops congregate to share their troubles. In this aprly dubbed House of Misery, they ingest astounding quantities of booze, com-plain of an edict against choke holds and talk dirty.

It is only to be expected that the men hate the pres-

ence as equals of women colleagues and do their best to turn them into sex objects. For their part, the women light back by drinking as hard, talking

as foully and acting as violently as their macho col-

the Bad Czech, stood "over six feet tall and had

good upper-body strength and legs that could crush

a beer keg." She earned the respect of her male colleagues when "three nights after graduation from

the police academy, she choked out a combative trucker who thought he could drive a sixteen wheel-

er across the water in McArthur Park right onto

Dilford and his partner, Dolly, share a taste for

viewing eviscerated corpses in the police morgue. Theirs is a happy team. Dolly cheats enthusiastical-

Marital fidelity is nearly as rare in the Ramparts Division as membership in the American Civil Lib-erties Union. Mario Villalobos, "Delta Star's"

Duckie Island.

One of the women, nicknamed Jane Wayne by

72 Christening ac-

DOWN 87 Capital of Western

88 Make amer 90 An M.V.P. in 92 Purs in line 93 Postcard fea-

ture 95 Examined and filtered D.C. institute 190 Kind of ma-

111 Pound and Stone 112 Setdowns 113 Fine-grained soil 114 Unit of energy

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164 Arrowed street

sign 195 Put on a pedes

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1**03** Animal fur

116 Decayed-rock

125 Nabokov novel 126 Where some vets fought 127 Lizzie Bor-

DOWN

118 April 13, e.g. 119 Sour, in Sa-

lemo 120 Portuguese

121 Word form

122 Kind of ham-

124 Negative con-

burned-out hero, was married and divorced twice. One son ignores Mario's existence. The other hates him as a change from hating himself. No wonder Mario has become a vodka martini man - hold the well taught by his human partner. Hans, enjoys a olive, hold the vermouth. good glass of beer, or several, at Leery's, the grubby

Wambaugh admires his policemen. He panses more than once to justify their anarchic ways as natural reactions to the dangers and loneliness of their daily routine. Their subculture is that of men and now --- worse luck --- women who depend upon one another to survive each day's encounters with the unknown and terrifying. Like other combat veterans they stay with one another off duty because only front-line warriors know what it's like.

The suitably baffling plot concerns the murder of a seedy private eye and a prostitute known as Miss Moonbeam. Wambaugh plays fair. The clues are there, and Mario Villalobos with a bit of help from Cal Tech interprets them correctly. You will be relieved to discover that the Russians don't get away with it. What the "it" is I cannot in good faith re-

This is the best Wambaugh I have encountered. It deserves to sell the customary ton of copies. The dialogue crackles and the folkways of Cal Tech are rendered as plausibly and considerably more satirically than those of the Rampart Division. Although than Wambaugh does, he does render understand-able the man's murder of an especially vicious musger. Beneath rough exteriors a foot or two deep, cops are sentimental folks. It hurts the Bad Czech to see an old doll batted around like a tetherball. He sits by the hour by the bedside of his brutally beaten Korean colleague Sunney Kee, trying to bring him to consciousness.

bring him to consciousness The confrontation between cops and scientists is bilariously handled. I should not end without noting the existence of characters like Rumpled Ronald, certain that something dreadful will happen to him in his last two days of active duty before retirement, the Bad Czech's cynical black partner

Robert Lekachman teaches economics at the City University of New York. His most recent book is "Greed Is Not Enough." He wrote this review for The

PEANUTS GOOD MORNING! DO YOU HAVE ANYONE IN YOUR HOUSE WHO DRAGS AROUND A SECURITY BLANKET?

WELL, IF YOU DO, I'M HERE TO HELP THAT PERSON I CAN TELL HIM OR HER IOW I BROKE THE HABIT!















AH, SPRING! SILVER MUSIC ON A MOSSY LAWN, THE WINTER'S FEARSOME GRIP LIKE SHADOWS, GONE!





















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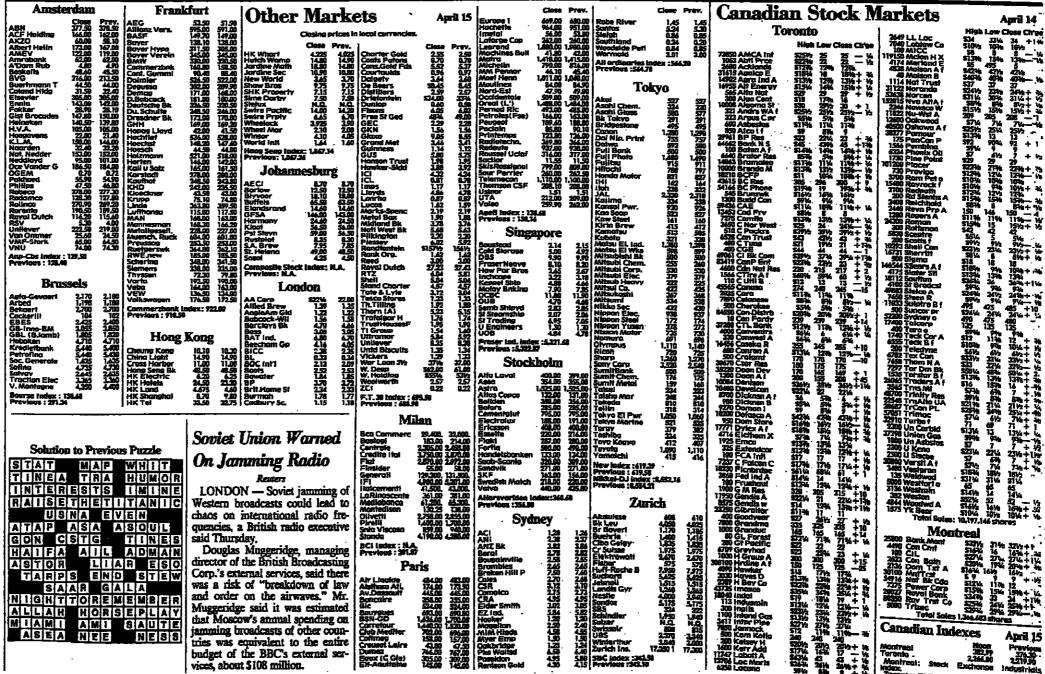
Amsterdam

Solution to Last Week's Puzzle

Cecil Higgins, Leary himself and Ludwig's friend Gertie, who meets a sad fate. It's a lot more credi-ble, all of it, than the latest episode of "Hill Street Blues."

Other Markets

tries was equivalent to the entire budget of the BBC's external ser-



SPORTS

Ruff and McKegney Power Sabres Past the Bruins, 7-4

BOSTON — Lindy Ruff and York Islanders a 4-1 victory over cago. ony McKesney each scored twice the New York Rangers. Game 2 of Fraser tipped in a shot by Doug the second period to lead the the Patrick Division final was Wilson after Steve Ludzik had hursday night over the Boston arons in the National Hockey lague playoffs. Game 2 of the dams Division final was to be layed Friday at Boston Garden. The Sabres, in winning their courth straight playoff game with-ed a loss after sweeping the Monmal Canadiens, twice battled track rom two-goal deficits. Ruff, who ad only 12 goals all season riggered Buffalo's comeback with wo goals in a 62-second span to tie

he score, 3-3, early in the second His first goal came on a wrist hot on a 2-on-1 rush, and his sec-bined to set up Brent Sutter for a and was unassisted after defensenan Ray Bourque lost the puck in rout of the Boston net.

McKegney then added his pair at 9:37 and 15:35 to give Buffalo a 3 lead. The goals were almost dentical; McKegney came out rom behind the net both times and lipped a backhander off the pads of Pete Pecters.

"We didn't concern ourselves jish gesting down a goal or two,"
"ACKegney said. "We're the underhigs. We're not supposed to win."
McKegney's second goal came shile Rick Middleton was serving his second penalty of the playoffs ifter having only four all season. The Bruins opened strong but stayed uninspired hockey for much If the game. Bourque and Barry Sin goals at 4:49 and 10:31 of the arst period while the Sabres could manage only one shot on goal in hat span.

The Sabres made it 2-1 at 16:33 then Mike Ramsey intercepted an utempted clearing pass by Peeters and scored on a 55-footer through i screen. Peter McNab restored loston's two-goal lead to 3-1 just 10 seconds into the second period with a deflection of a Bourque

Craig Ramsay and Gilles Hamel completed the scoring for Buffalo with goals early in the third period. heve Kasper closed the scoring

Islanders 4, Rangers 1 In Uniondale, New York, Bob

Bourne assisted on goals by Denis Potvin, Brent Sutter and Duane Sutter to spring the Islanders

Bourne drew Ranger goaltender Eddie Mio out of position to set up a scramble that enabled Potvin to fire a 25-footer to Mio's left at 1:44. Less than three minutes later, Bourne and Duane Sutter com-

NHL PLAYOFFS

8:05, Duane Sutter back-handed a rebound past Mio from the crease for the Islanders' fourth goal.

The Islanders outplayed the Rangers for most of the game despite losing defenseman Dave Langevin at 2:37 of the first period with an injury to his right knee.

The Rangers took a 1-0 lead at 13:01 of the first period. Herb Brooks, the Ranger coach, inserted Ron Greschner at right wing on the power play and the defensemenforward backhanded his own rebound over Billy Smith for his secand goal of the playoffs.

A blunder on a golden scoring opportunity deprived the Rangers of a chance to increase their lead and led to the tying goal by the Islanders in the second period.

With each team a man down, Ron Duguay and Mike Backman took off for the Rangers on a double breakaway. Dugnay, a weteran, mexplicably passed to Backman, who was playing only his fifth NHL playoff game, and the rookie's shot went wide. Apparently flustered, the Rangers went into a penalty-killing situation when Dave Maloney was caught for holding at 5:18. Soon afterward, Stefan Persson ripped a 40-foot shot past a screened Mio at 5:43 to tic the score.

Black Hawks 5, North Stars 2 In Chicago, Curt Fraser's tip-in goal at 13:06 of the third period broke a 2-2 tie and the Black

sourne collected three assists in neota. Game 2 of the Norris Divi-

scheduled for Friday in Nasasan made a fine play to keep the puck Coliseann, the Islanders' home rink in the attacking zone. Denis Savard's fourth playoff goal at 17:41 of the third period chacked the triumph. Doug Wilson added an empty-net goal in final minute. The Black Hawks took a 1-0 lead

at 8:10 of the second period on Ludzik's third playoff goal, a rebound of a shot by Doug Wilson. The North Stars tied the game 21 seconds later when Tom McCarthy shoved the puck past Murray Bannerman after Bannerman had made a save on Dino Ciccarelli's

Minnesota went ahead, 2-1, on a power-play goal by Bobby Smith at 13:17 while Rich Preston was serving a hooking penalty. Taking a pass from Brad Maxwell, Smith hammered a 15-footer past Banner-man for his fifth goal of the

the second period. Tom Lysiak battled for the puck from behind the Minuesota net and fired a pass to Dong Crossman, who whistled a shot from the slot past Gilles Meloche who was screened.

Otlers 6, Flames 3 In Edmonton, Alberta, Mark Messier scored four goals to power the Oilers to a 6-3 triumph over Calgary. Game 2 of the Smythe Di-vision final was scheduled Friday

said. "It was just one of those games that go like that. The four goals were nice, but I would have goal - if it were the game winner." of Calgary defenseman Paul Reinhart, who notched a hat trick

in a losing cause.
Forward Pat Hughes and defenseman Paul Coffey scored the

In Toronto, Jim Gantner homered with two out in the ninth inning to give Milwankee a 5-4 victory over the Blue Jays. Gantner connected off reliever Joey McLaughlin (0-1) and helped reliever Jim Slaton (1-0) to the victo-Blue Jays ned a team record in the

Yankees 6, Tigers 3

umph over Detroit

Duane Sutter (left) and Brent Sutter of the Islanders rejoicing at Duane's third-period goal against the Rangers. On the ice are Dave Maloney and the Ranger goalie, Eddie Mio.

Russia Favored in World Hockey

DORTMUND, West Germany

— The 49th World Ice Hockey pionship games. But the Swedes have been helped by the Stanley that their rancous, please than impressive in pre-chample are hoping that their rancous, please than impressive in pre-chample are hoping that their rancous, please than impressive been helped by the Stanley than a cantain. Exich — The 49th World Ice Hockey Championships open Saturday with a familiar question: Who can stop the Soviet Union?

The answer is probably nobody - except the Canadians, depen ing on how much of their profes-sional talent will be available from

and the final period, including a shorthanded effort. He tied the club playoff record of four goals in a single game set by Wayne Gretzky in their opening series this year against Winnipeg.

"I just seemed to be in the right position at the right time," Messier said. "It was just one manes that ""

America. Following the elimination of the Mourreal Canadiens, Quebec Nordiques, Philadelphia Flyers and Washington Capitals, the Canadiens of the Mourreal Canadiens, Quebec Nordiques, Philadelphia Flyers and Washington Capitals, the Canadiens of Washington Capitals of Washington Capita

l6 of the last 20 titles and have not lost a World Championship game been just as happy to score one Since 1770, and the been just as happy to score one The championships start simultasince 1978, are the team to beat. His showing overshadowed that neously in Dortmund, where the Russians open the defense of their title against East Germany, and Dusseldorf, where Finland takes on Czechoslovakia.

The decisive second round will tensement rain Correy scores the take place in Munich starting April other two goals for the Oilers in the 27 and culminating in the final on

The tournament involves a total of 40 games among the eight countries taking part — Canada, Czechoslovalcia, East Germany, Finland, Italy, the Soviet Union, Sweden

and West Germany.
With only the final round counting for the title, one upset victory can be enough to topple the favorites. "We are capable of beating the Russians in a single game," said Dave King, the Canadian coach who is hoping to enlist several

strong pressure from other participants, particularly the Russians, to bar such a late infusion of talent The Czechoslovaks, almost always at their best when facing their Soviet rivals, are still re-building and are not expected to emerge as a real threat for another two years.

Major League Standings AMERICAN L BAGUE

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NATIONAL LEAGUE

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Valy Sanderson, Scharbeder (8), Reordon

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L.—Torrez, 0—2 HR.—New York, Brooks (1).
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AMERICAN LEAGUE Minimum
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Augustine, Skalen (5) and Yasi; Golf, Jackson (7), Gelsel (1), McLoughlin (8) and
B.Martinez, Whiti (9), W.—Sloton, 1-0. L.—
McLaughlin, 9-1, HRS—Mileculate, Goriner 101 002 412-11 15 1 218 848 830-12 12 2

CHICAGO Ploced Dickle Notes, on the 21-day disabled list. Receive Maskow Pitcher, from lower of the An

FOOTBALL" Nericool Fostball League
NEW YORK GIANTS-Traded Gory
Jeter, definitive and to the Los Aspeles

Rozelle Assails Verdict On Antitrust Damages

New York Times Service sion for the league's antitrust violations a "serious miscarriage of the because of the league's action. The

verdict is upheld, the league will be required to pay more than \$49 mil-

Rozelle's statement Thursday attacking the verdict said that the case had been "tried at all stages under improper legal standards and in a forum in a partisan loca-tion." Both the liability and damage phases of the trial were held in Los Angeles. The verdict in the lia-bility phase, which was reached last May, was appealed a week ago Thursday before a three-judge pan-el of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, situated in Los

Angeles.
"In attempting to require the Raiders to remain in Oakland," Rozelle said of the NFL owners' rote four years ago, "the member clubs were adhering to a longstanding NFL policy favoring franchise stability. The league also was at-

NEW YORK - Pete Rozelle, the the award was based on what one sioner of the National lawyer called "uncontradicted evi-Football League, has called the dence" that huxury boxes could not award of \$16.41 million to the Los have been built in the Coliscum in Angeles Raiders and the Los Angeles Memorial Coliscum Commister Those were the years the Raiders judicial process" and he said that Raiders' bid for damages was the league would appeal.

Raiders' bid for damages was based in part on the added income By law, the damages are trebled, that they said the luxury boxes at which means that if Wednesday's the Coliseum could have given

> Another argument the league will make, said Jay Moyer, Rozelle's counsel, is that Judge Harry Pregerson, who presided over both phases of the trial, would not inform the jury of six women about the pending eminent domain case, brought against the Raiders by the city of Oakland, in that trial, scheduled to begin May 17 in a state court in Salinas California the city of Oaldand will attempt to demn the Raiders and make them return to Oakland in the public

League attorneys also contend that if Oakland prevails, the results of the antitrust case, and therefore the damages, will be moot. When the eminent domain case was filed in February 1980, Oakland ob-

Cardinals Exploit Sloppy Fielding By Mets; Forsch Pitches a 4-Hitter

itched a four-hitter and the Cardi- to score. ork fielding to score seven runs in 're first immig and go on for a 7-1 ictory over the Mets.

Forsch (1-1) allowed four walks nd was pitching a shutout until

BASEBALL ROUNDUP lubie Brooks hit a home run to ft in the fifth inning. St. Louis batted around in the

est, but the inning might have aded at 2-0 if Bob Bailor, the Met acristop, had not muffed a poten-al double-play grounder.

tch. Darrell Porter-doubled home e ball and barely had time to ake the play at second.
On the next pitch, David Green ipled down the right-field line to

rce home Porter and Oberkfell. like Ramsey then singled to cenr. Forsch doubled deep to left to lead the White Sox to a 12-11 Mariners.

ST. LOUIS — Bob Forsch Bailor's throw home alfoed Forsch itched a four-hitter and the Cardials took advantage of sloppy New Expos 4, Cubs 3 victory over Baltimore. For the second game in a row the White Sox turned what appeared to be a ron-time one-sided contest into a nail-Expos 4, Cubs 3

In Montreal, Tim Raines collected his sixth and seventh RBI of the season with a two-run triple in the sixth inning to lift Montreal to a 4-3 victory over Chicago. With the score tied 2-2, Warren Cromartie opened the sixth with a double off Chuck Rainey (0-2), and one out followed with his triple to left.

Padres 6, Glants 4

In San Diego, Terry Kennedy hit a two-run homer in the second inning, and Rippert Jones added a mith with a bloop single to left three-run shot in the fourth to powad then stole second on the next or the Padres to a 6-4 triumph over San Francisco. John Montefusco mith and Mike Torrez (0-2) then (1-0) went six innings to earn the alked George Hendrick. With one triumph, and Gary Lucas got the at. Ken Oberkfell rapped a final out for his third save. Andy runder to Bailor, who flubbed McGaffigan (0-1) took the loss to ball and barely had time to Max Venable stole home for the Giants in the third inning.

> White Sax 12, Orioles 11 In the American League, at Chicago, Ron Kittle drove in six runs

biter. They built a 9-2 lead over the Orioles then blew it with sloppy defense.

more stars after the current round of the NHL playoffs.

But the organizers will be under

Brewers 5. Blue Javs 4

ry. Willie Upshaw hit an inside-the-park homer for Toronto. The pame by stealing five bases.

In New York, Dave Winfield singled home Ken Guiffey with the tie-breaking run in a three-run fifth to carry the Yankees to a 6-3 tri-

In Seattle, Wayne Gross Boots homered and drove in three runs to lead a 13-hit attack that paced Oakland to a 5-3 victory over the

	Petersson from their North can clubs. In West Germany, wh	se they goal-scoring caps Pelle Knehmhacki, to new Bengt-Ioergen ians and East Germ to battle for the wo decide who will be to	ptain. Erich surances to ty and to Con then the Italians will be left boden spoon to relegated to the	the Oakland communi- that ongress that the Raiders leavi- be relocated from that couri- so long as they were years ted." prem ppeal of the damages the n	d a preliminary injunct prohibited the Raiders fing. Four months later, a to lifted the injunction. But a after that, the California is Court ruled that the city light to attempt to seek con a team by eminent domain.
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Angry Umpires May Hold Boycott New York Times Service Thursday that the walkout would American Leagues with discriminaNEW YORK — A one-day walkdevelop unless Kulm took action in tion against Bill Emslie, an Interthe Discrimination of the Case by the weekend Kulm has national League umpire. The Asso-

mark by George Steinbrenner, to principal owner of the New ork Yankees, that they favor their igue in games against American ague clubs.
A source familiar with discus-

as between the Major League npires' Association and Comssioner Bowie Kuho's office said

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Thorsday's gies

been urged by Richie rimmps, counsel of the umpires union, to delphia.

Phillips charged that Emslie has

Feeney said Thursday that he was unaware of a strike threat. But advanced to the majors. Emslie, he said he had been informed by voted the top International League Phillips that several unipires wantthat the visiting umpires would be reached between the union and the those who were scheduled to work two leagues last April. He was dis-

Steinbreuner made his remark International League. "If you don't on March 25 during an exhibition have interest in an umpire after a game between the Yankees and the few years, they let him go, he said. Montreal Expos. He was standing "We have not expressed interest in with several people, including him at any point." newspaper reporters, near the fence behind first base when the veteran National League umpire Lee Weyer called an Expo safe on a close play at first. Steinbrenner shouted an obscenity at Weyer, then said: "The National League will always give the close play to

the National League team." # Umpires Charge Discrimination The unpures' union has filed an unfair labor practice complaint w 16: Rolling 2s. Scores 12: Dourse 15: missing 1600 plactice companied ritions 170, Bon Olson 21 (Not) at with the National Labor Relations resem 16: Brooks 22, Chambers 163 Roard, charging the National and

Canas my par rotations

uld occur next week because of a been urged by Richie Phillips, clated Press reported from Phills-

The comment on it.

Support Steinbrenner, at the request incoming the not only of Phillips, but also of the major leagues because Charles Feeney, the National he speanheaded resistance by 11 League president, is conducting an investigation of the incident but has decirated comment on it.

The continues of the request incident but has decirated comment on it.

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The continues of the request incident but has decirated comment on it.

The continues of the request incident an opportunity to move to the major league umpires to replace striking major league umpires in 1979.

The continues of the request incident an opportunity to move to the major leagues because in the major leagues because the major leagues because in the major league umpires to replace of the major leagues because in the major league umpires to replace of the major leagues because in the major leagues Ten of those umpires have since

umpire in each of the last four seaed to come to New York next week sons, was fired following the 1981 to meet with Kuhn. The source season but re-hired as part of the who told of the boycott threat said collective bargaining agreement games on the day of their New missed again following the 1982 York trip, but he declined to name season and is now unemployed. a specific date. Blake Cullen, the National

a specific date.

Blake Cunen, the reasonate of As far as boycotting a game," League administrator in charge of Feeney said, "they better not do impores, said that the league had no role in Emslie's dismissal by the charm."

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ACGROVATA, Strivert (5), Walchel (6),
T.Martinez (8), Stoddard (8) and Nolan; Doison Kaesman (6), Tidrow (7), Baroles (7),
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tration's disastrous defeat on military spending in the Senate Budget Committee. Speakes said Congress was responding to a public informed by a press that was not giving the administration's defense program a "fair shake."

Larry, for once, knows what he's talking about. As soon as the president announced he wouldn't budge from a 10 percent increase in military spending, a group of opinion makers met at The Class Reunion restaurant to discuss what action to take. Sam Donaldson, of ABC. said, "I think the president has gone overboard on defense, and I am not prepared to give him a dime until he tells me how he's

going to spend it."
Leslie Stahl, of CBS, agreed with Sam. "I oppose sticking a lot of MX missiles in the ground until the Joint Chiefs of Staff assure me that they are not vulnerable to Soviet

"Is this your personal opinion?"

"It is not only mine, but Dan Rather's, Dan feels 'Dense Pack' basing is unleasible and a waste of

"So do Tom Brokaw and Roger Mudd," Chris Wallace, of NBC, told us. "They're for cutting the president's military request in half."

Helen Thomas, of United Press International, said. "I've read the defense budget from cover to cover and there is a lot of waste and fraud there. Why should I support Weinberger if the Pentagon won't clean up its act?"

Rowland Evans and Bob Novak, media hardliners, who speak with one voice, said together, "If we don't give the president what he's

Tokyo Disneyland Opens

United Press International URAYASU, Japan - The first Disneyland to be built outside the United States opened Friday. The can live with." 204-acre, \$160-million park was visited in heavy rain by an estimated 25.000 Japanese and foreign tourists. Disney officials said the park, six miles from Tokyo, was a replica of California's Disneyland.

ASHINGTON — Larry asking for we will be sending a Speakes, President message to the Soviets that they Reagan's press secretary, has can get anything they want in the blamed the media for the adminis-Reagan isn't asking enough. You ultraliberals are tying the president's hands, just at the time when the Soviets are starting to realize

> We all ignored Evans and Novak, as we usually do, when the question of national security comes

I said, "No one wants a stronger defense than my readers do. But I must know what our defense policy is. If the military will just tell me what they plan to do with the moncy, I would be the first to say, 'Go get 'em boys.' But as long as the president has his feet in concrete. I have to be a nay-sayer.

Tom Wicker, of The New York Times, said, "I couldn't agree with you more. I want to know if we are preparing to light a limited nuclear war, a prolonged nuclear war, a two-ocean war, a one-ocean war, or a police action in space."

David Brinkley said, "What gets me is that the military will come to the media and tell us they only need \$10 billion for a new weapon, and once they develop it, they're going to return next year and say it will cost us four times as much as they originally thought. I got badly burned on the F-18 fighter plane, and I'm not going to get sucked in again.'

Columnist James Kilpatrick said, "I think you're all talking a bunch of claptrap."

We waited for him to continue,

but apparently that's all he wanted Sarah McClendon said, "I can't

justify a \$2-trillion military expenditure over five years when there isn't enough money to take care of the sick and the poor. I say "Then the consensus is," I said,

"that the Reagan-Weinberger military budget is totally unacceptable, and they're going to have to go back to the drawing boards and come up with something the media

"What's our next step?" Mary McGrory asked,

"We start a steady drumbeat of negative thought about defense ex-penditures, and let Congress take it

Cyrus Vance: Workaholic

By Charlotte Curtis New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Last summer, Cyrus R. Vance's flower gardens received less than their usual loving attention. The former secretary of state gave himself six weeks in which to finish most of "Hard Choices," his forthcoming book on his years at the State Department, and what with long hours, the labors of writing and at least a few breaks for tennis, there simply wasn't as much time for the zinnias. "But I wasn't really neglectful," he said. "After lunch, I'd go out and putter

around before taking pen again in hand."
In typically workaholic fashion, he was at his desk from 8 A.M. until 6 at night, determined to describe not just what he did as secretary of state, but how he did it, marshaling countries and world events into historic line, explaining obstacles and detailing what he thinks American relations with the world should be and why, and his editors at Simon & Schuster think he has succeeded.

He makes a case that in persuading Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel to make concessions, General Moshe Dayan was as much the hero of Camp David as President Anwar Sadat of Egypt. He is fascinating on the complex process by which the treaty returning the Panama Canal was achieved. And in pages devoted to the fall of Iran, a careful reader will discern that indeed Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Jimmy Carter's bumptions national security adviser, was communicating with the shah without the knowledge of either the State

Department or the secretary of state.
"Foreign policy is hard choices," Vance said.
The secretary's job is difficult, too. Dealings with Congress alone consumed "at least a quarter of my time," he said, exacting "four to six hours' preparation for every hour of testimony." Besides Congress, there were the foreign dignitaries to be welcomed, the department to be administered and, of course, the politics of policy formulation and dayto-day conduct of foreign relations. "It is," he said in an interview in his sunny uptown office, "a back-breaking task for a president and a secretary of state."

One of Vance's first acts as secretary was to remove the device his predecessors used to listen in on staff telephones. During his tenure, all phone conversations were private. That little-known fact did not come from Vance nor is it in his book. Neither did a description of the masterful way in which he persuaded the Soviet Union to keep its Ethiopian and Cuban surrogates from moving into Somalia in 1977. He simply does not deal in anecdotes, personalities or anything that might en-hance his own stature at anybody else's expense.

Instead, what he talked about was largely nuts and bolts: Why a secretary should establish a deputy as his alter ego (as he did with Warren Christo pher and as Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara did with him) and how the State Department's relations with Congress should be restructured

Asked about Latin America, he first detailed the situation and then offered up the very paradigm of the Vance approach. "The time is long overdue when we should be considering a political solution to El Salvador and other trouble spots," he said.



Still working on the nation's problems.

The application of sheer military force is a poor way to address and cure these problems. We should be willing to let countries that have democratic principles take the lead if they want to and support them." He was, of course, referring to Mexico, which offered leadership early on and was refused. "It is a great mistake to read East-West confrontation into all these problems," he said,

That's a recipe for failure."
"Hard Choices" will be published June 2, and Vance, the presiding senior partner at the law firm of Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett, will appear in five or six cities on its behalf. Since he finished it, he has had more time to pursue the issues that concern him, issues about which he is quietly passionate. He chairs the privately financed Center for National Policy, which is developing blueprints for a healthy economy. He closely watches the world's hot spots and, as always, advocates objective study of issues followed, in the event of conflict, by pa-

tient negotiations.
In 1947, when Vance arrived at Simpson. Thacher, he was one of 40 lawyers. Now he oversees 270. And workaholic or not, he expects to spend more time this summer with his and Mrs. Vance's flowers. "Roses are the easiest," he said, "and I'm quite partial to peonies and chrysan-

He says he inherited his pleasure in gardening from his mother and that perhaps it's related to his sbiding affection for the natural world. As a young man, he spent summers wrangling horses in Wyoming. "I wanted to stay out West," he said, "but my family insisted I go to law school." And then he laughed. "I'm sure around the United

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'Gandhi' Furor in South Africa

Sir Richard Attenborough, direc-tor of the Oscar-winning film "Gandhi." said Friday he will go to South Africa to try to get all screenings of the film shown before racially integrated audiences. In a statement issued through Britain's Press Association, Attenborough said that if he attended a premiere. it would be Wednesday in the township of Lenasia, just outside Johannesburg. Proceeds from the showing are to benefit an Indian charity. Attenborough's original decision to attend the main premiere in Johannesburg Thursday before a whites-only andience set off an international furor. Followers of Mohandas K. Gandhi charged that the director was violating the spirit of Gandhi's fight against racial seg-regation. Attenborough also said he would donate any money he makes from the film's showings in South Africa to charities devoted to Gandhian principles. In his announcement in London Friday night Attenborough said he had done all he could to ensure that twas "vital for both whites and cinemas would be open to andi-was "vital for both whites and ences of all races concurrently. even if audiences were not integrat- doo, the daughter of one of four ed, an objective that had been achieved. Attenborough said he rica said in London, "I'm horrified had consulted Athol Fugard, the that he's going. I don't think the South African playwright and human rights advocate, among othneed to be told they are ers, before making his decision. Fugard played General Jan Smuts in the film. In South Africa, Pen Kotze, community development minister, said he would be prepared to grant permission for racially integrated audiences to see charity premieres of the film. He said the government readily granted charity movie premieres exemp-tions from the Group Areas Act, which among other things bars nonwhites from white movie theaters. "Due to the exceptional interest generated by the film 'Gan-dhi' and due to the great interest shown in South Africa," he said, "I have decided that permission to have the film shown to mixed-race audiences at bona fide premieres will be granted on application." The film won eight Academy Awards this week, including best film and best director for Attenborough. While living in British-Felipe Gonzilez and the Catalan ruled South Africa as a young law-parhament president, Jordi Pojol.



The Attenboroughs returning to London with Oscars.

later took to his native India. Atblacks" to see it. But Shanthie Naimen Gandhi adopted in South Afoppressed."... Ben Kingsley, who portrayed Gandhi in the film, returned to London from collecting

his best-actor Oscar in Hollywood to give a one-man show at at the Lyric Theater in suburban London for which he will be paid the un-Oscar sum of \$225 a week. Kingsley's show is based on the life of Edmund Kessa, the 18th-century and Kess, the 18th-century Shakespearean actor.

The Spanish royal family and government officials were out in force to open a major exhibition of monuments and to environmental Salvador Dall's works, but the 78-improvements." year-old artist, who is in frail health, stayed at home. The exhibition, Spain's largest tribute to its controversial Surrealist painter, was opened by King Juan Carlos accompanied by Prime Minister yer from 1893 to 1914, Gandhi op- Dali has rarely left his eastle in Puposed the government's rules of ra- bol since his wife, Gala, died last cial separation. During this period, June. But despite fits of depression which forms the first part of the and a debilitating form of Parkin-

movie, Gandhi organized the non- son's disease, he is still painting violent civil disobedience from and several new works were on which he built the philosophy he show for the first time. The exhibition, at Madrid's Museum of Contemporary Art, groups more than 400 paintings and drawings, span-ning the entire creative output of

The Polish film director Andrzej Wajda, director of "Man of Iron," collected a \$100,000 Alexander S. Onassis award in Athens. A second need to be told they are \$100,000 award was given jointly to Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan and Europa Nostra, an international preservation federation. Wajda was chosen for his "contribution to the cause of human dignity, freedom, and social progress, and his artistic and social progress, and us artistic integrity in serving this cause by producing films of the highest quality." The Agn Khan, former UN high commissioner for refugees, was cited for his contribution to the use of nuclear energy for peaceful and human was cited for poses. Europa Nostra was cited for its contribution to the "safeguard-ing of traditional urban areas and

> Italian Prime Minister Aminton Fanfani paid a "goodwill" visit to the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam Friday, in an attempt to influ-ence the museum to lend part of its collection for a major exhibition in Venice, according to a museum refused to lend the pictures to Italy for security reasons

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